What Is Happening in Finland *Turn to Page 11*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

December 12, 1939

Coughlin and Ford

DOCUMENTED

By John L. Spivak

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Reserve Thursday, December 14

NEW MASSES PRESENTS

John L. Spivak

AMERICA'S ACE REPORTER

in his first public appearance in New York. Hear the documented truth first hand from this crack reporter and investigator.

SUBJECT

The inside story of America's Number One Anti-Semite, Charles E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Mich.

HEAR

Spivak's own account of how he tracked down proof of the strange activities of the radio priest. His revelations will be illustrated with original documents from Coughlin's own files and ledgers.

TIME

Thursday evening, December 14, at 8:30. Doors open at 7:30. Come early.

PLACE

Manhattan Center

34TH STREET WEST OF EIGHTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

Admission, 40 Cents; Reserved Seats, $1

THE article in this issue by John L. Spivak, "America's ace reporter," is the fourth in his NM series exposing the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin. . . . Alter Brody, who is the author of several books and a contributor to progressive American periodicals, has written numerous articles for NM about the Eastern European situation. . . . Paul G. McManus is NM's Washington correspondent. . . . Francis Bartlett is the author of *Sigmund Freud*. . . . William Blake is the author of *The World Is Mine, The Painter and the Lady,* and *An American Looks at Karl Marx*. . . . Grace Hutchins is on the editorial staff of Labor Research Association.

The colleges opened on a new and ominous note this year. In place of Prexy's glad hand and the Campus Yowl's editorial on the football team's prospects there was intense and widespread talk of war. From cap and gown to khaki and gun. Next week Joseph Starobin will begin a tour of New York and out-of-town colleges, speaking of those developments in the international situation of vital concern to students. His talks will be given under the auspices of NM and progressive organizations on the campuses. At the same time NM will publish a series of two articles by Milton Meltzer telling the story of the colleges World War I and revealing tre on the campus in this time of W War II. Speaking dates for Starobin in the colleges may be ranged through Jean Stanley at N CAledonia 5-3076.

Dorothy Parker writes NM to mind us of the seventy thous... Spanish refugee children in France, for whose aid Miss Parker's Spanish Children's Milk Fund is presenting *Stars for Spain* at Manhattan's Mecca Temple, Sunday evening, December 10. Among the prominent theater people who will appear to aid the Spanish kids are Philip Merivale, Helen Hayes, Luise Rainer, Martha Graham, Paul Draper, Morris Carnovsky, and Lionel Stander.

Flashbacks

IN THE early days of December, during the revolutionary upsurge of 1905, Russian workers showed they knew how to fraternize with soldiers under reactionary control. On December 8, the populace surrounded the Cossacks in St. Petersburg, penetrated into their ranks, persuaded them to retire. . . . Memo to Social Democracy which supports Finland's capitalist government: On Dec. 10, 1917, a decree abolishing private property was issued in Soviet Russia.

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notifi direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXIII DECEMBER 12, 1939 NUMBER 12

Coughlin and Ford

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Rivaling the Black Legion as a labor fighter, Silver Charlie Coughlin uses his church connections to split the UAW. The payoff: from Ford to Coughlin to Martin. Building the Shrine of the Little Flower with underpaid scab labor.

AT 2:30 in the afternoon of Feb. 9, 1939, Loren J. Houser, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers of America, with offices in the Griswold Building in Detroit, found that he had no money to meet the payroll. He walked into the private office of Homer Martin, who had broken away from the UAW-CIO and established an opposition group which was desperately trying to wreck the CIO union.

"How much do you need?" asked Martin.

"About $10,000."

Martin reached into the inside pocket of his coat and took out two cashier's checks drawn on a New York bank. One was for $10,000 and the other for $15,000. Each was made payable to Homer Martin personally.

"Come on," he said, "let's go downstairs and cash it."

The teller in the bank next door to the building in which Martin's union had its offices handed over the cash.

"Here," said the labor "leader" casually, "use this. When that's gone there's more where it came from."

Martin, whose fight with the UAW-CIO had seriously hurt the drive to organize the automotive workers, for a time did not have enough to run his organization. Funds came from a mysterious source. That source was and is today Harry Bennett, head of the Ford secret service, whose chief activity is to prevent the Ford plant from being organized by any union. For this purpose Bennett established an amazing labor spy organization; his operatives are found not only in the Ford plants but in the unions and in the political life of the state. How Homer Martin, nationally known labor "leader," whose "union" is now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, was brought in contact with Henry Ford and finally began to take money from the Ford labor spy chief, brings us to the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, the radio priest of Royal Oak, Mich., the "friend of organized labor." I shall show in this article that Silver Charlie Coughlin's activities while posing as a friend of labor have been such as have earned other persons engaged in similar activities the accusation of being provocateurs operating for the employers.

The story begins at the end of August 1937, when a car drove up to the rectory adjoining the Shrine of the Little Flower at 12 Mile Rd. and Woodward Ave., Royal Oak, and R. J. Thomas, now president of the UAW-CIO, and Homer Martin, then president, stepped out. The street, with its tall, heavily leaved trees, was asleep, though it was barely the dinner hour. Royal Oak burghers were at

Letter to Fr. Coughlin

THE following letter was sent to the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin by John L. Spivak by registered mail Dec. 2:

Rev. Charles E. Coughlin
Shrine of the Little Flower
Royal Oak, Mich.

My dear Father Coughlin:

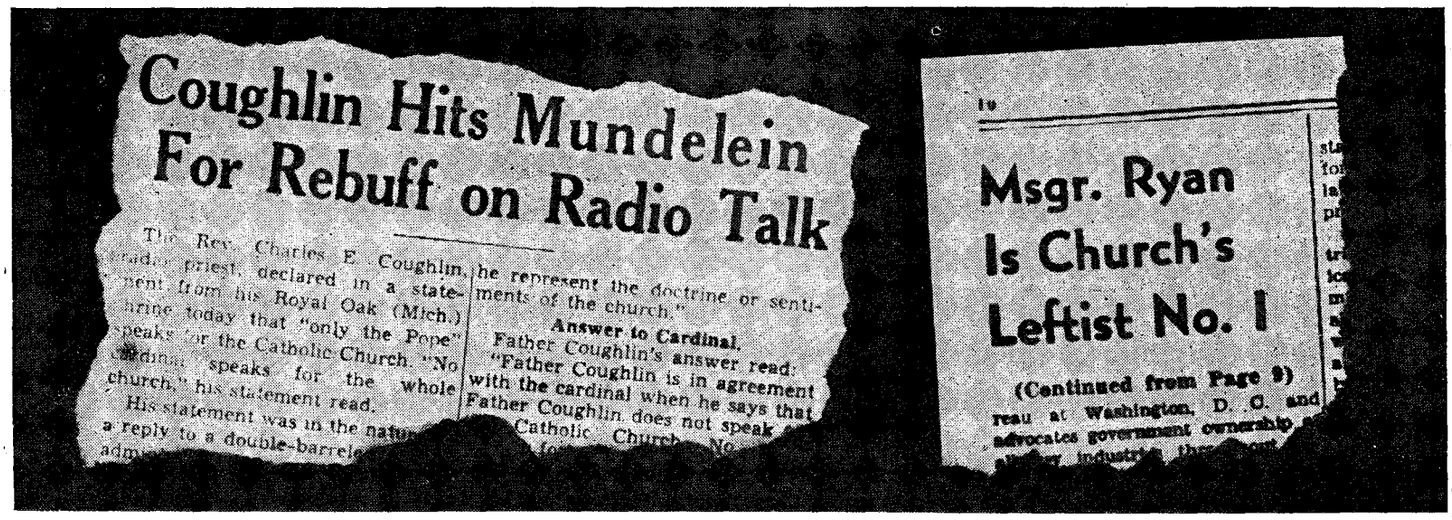
In the Dec. 4, 1939, issue of *Social Justice* you state: "There is not a fact in the whole Spivak series."

If you are correct then I can be sued for libel.

Since you have been unwilling or unable to answer the charges in your magazine, I would suggest that you institute such suit; you will thus have the opportunity to present evidence to the entire country from the witness stand if these charges are unfounded.

I should very much like to see you take the stand and explain your various financial and other manipulations—if you can explain them.

Very truly yours,
JOHN L. SPIVAK.


Coughlin Hits Mundelein For Rebuff on Radio Talk
The Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, radio priest, declared in a statement from his Royal Oak (Mich.) shrine today that "only the Pope speaks for the Catholic Church. No cardinal speaks for the whole church," his statement read.
His statement was in the nature of a reply to a double-barreled
he represent the doctrine or sentiments of the church."
Answer to Cardinal.
Father Coughlin's answer read:
"Father Coughlin is in agreement with the cardinal when he says that Father Coughlin does not speak
Catholic Church
Msgr. Ryan Is Church's Leftist No. 1
(Continued from Page 9)
reau at Washington, D. C. and
advocates government ownership

PREFERRED HENRY FORD. *Silver Charlie Coughlin lashed out furiously at high Catholic Church dignitaries who viewed CIO efforts to organize the auto industry with friendly eyes. Henry Ford opposed the CIO, and Coughlin, who secretly arranged sessions designed to split the CIO's union ranks, was ready to fight his church superiors to achieve Ford's aims. The clipping at the right is from "Social Justice" and the other is from the Chicago "Daily News."*

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their dining tables and it was long past the sight-seeing hours when visitors to the Shrine walk around the block eyeing the church and the rectory housing the priest.

Thomas, a stocky, youngish labor leader, whose face normally has a stare of baby innocence which masks his keen observations, was frowning.

"I don't think we're doing a smart thing, Homer," he said.

"Don't worry about it," said Martin. "Dave Brand is an officer of the Dodge local. He came to me; I didn't go to him. He lives somewhere around here, close to Father Coughlin, and is one of his stanchest followers. He came up to my office, as I told you, and personally invited us. Said the Father wanted to see us. Now, I've known Brand for a long time and I'd have gone myself, but he said Father Coughlin wanted you to come along, too."

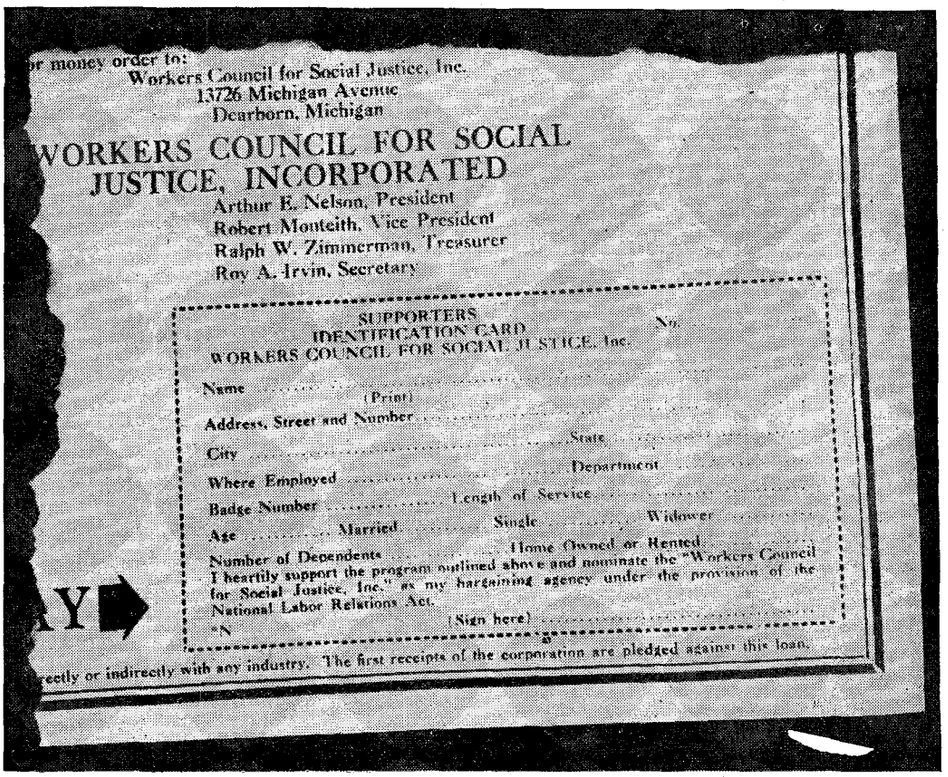
NO FRIEND OF LABOR

"I still don't think it's a very smart thing to do. Father Coughlin wasn't friendly to union labor even when he was building his church. He says he doesn't like the CIO, but he doesn't like the AFL either. He's got something up his sleeve, and I have a feeling it's not for our benefit. I've heard too many stories about how he says one thing but does another."

The radio priest had apparently been awaiting them anxiously, for he personally opened the door in response to their ring and ushered them into his spacious living quarters. After dinner, to which they had been invited, the priest immediately led the discussion from national problems to the labor situation. He launched into a furious denunciation of John L. Lewis as a "stooge of the Communist Party." Thomas listened in amazement, while Martin nodded. From Lewis the priest slipped into a scathing attack on Monsignor John A. Ryan of Washington, D. C., who, he charged, was more interested in "promoting the policies of the Communist Party than in the Catholic Church," and proceeded from the church dignitary to John Brophy, Richard Frankensteen, and other CIO leaders. Then he started upon high dignitaries of the Catholic Church. The dignity of the church and of his own position as a priest of the church was forgotten as he lashed out at other Catholic priests in the Detroit area who, with Monsignor Ryan, had viewed CIO organizing efforts with friendly eyes.

Neither Martin nor Thomas had much chance to speak. It was not a conversation but an oration, and the more Coughlin spoke the more hynotized he seemed by his own voice. The shrewd priest, however, soon noticed the look in Thomas' eyes and switched quickly to a personal note.

"Homer," he said, assuming the air of an old friend, "Lewis and the CIO are stooges of the Communist Party. I think I've made my-



ANOTHER RACKET. *When Silver Charlie Coughlin was having his fight with the archbishop of Detroit (June 1937) and it looked as if he might be cut off the air and lose his privately owned "Social Justice" magazine, another money-drawing racket with the Coughlin earmarks popped up. This was the Workers Council for Social Justice, Inc. Officers were Ford employees who were given a couple of weeks' "vacation" while they tried to become the bargaining agency for Ford employees—a new version of the company union.*

What the Documents Have Shown

IN HIS first two articles, John L. Spivak laid bare the incorporated finaglings of the Radio League of the Little Flower, Inc., the National Union for Social Justice, Inc., Social Justice Publishing Co., Inc., the Social Justice Poor Society, Inc., and the various employees who act as dummies for the private and public ventures of "Silver Charlie" Coughlin.

In the first article (which appeared November 21) the official statement of the National Union for Social Justice (incorporated as a political organization) was reproduced, showing that $99,192.17 was loaned this political organization by the Radio League of the Little Flower, Inc., and $2,000 was loaned for political purposes by Sainte Therese Parish, Royal Oak. Thus devout Catholics supporting their church might find their contributions used to attack the presidential candidate of the United States for whom they were voting. Charles E. Coughlin was shown to be the only incorporator and stockholder of *Social Justice* magazine.

The second article (which appeared November 28) showed the corporation reports of Social Justice Publishing Co., Inc., revealing the silent partner of "Silver Charlie": Edward Kinsky of New York. It revealed the switch of ownership (on paper) of the magazine to the Social Justice Poor Society, a non-profit charitable organization which shows no record of performing any work of charity, except holding the stock of Social Justice Publishing Co.

The third article (in the December 5 issue) published facsimiles of Silver Charlie's stockmarket accounts revealing his trading in auto stocks at the very time that he was denouncing stock trading on the radio as "gambling with other people's money." Spivak also showed the financial statement of the League of the Little Flower, Inc., which lists a loan of $3,904.87 to T. J. Coughlin, the priest's father. An amazing interview with Prewitt Semmes, Coughlin's attorney, with notes signed by Semmes, contained admissions which confirm the charges made in NEW MASSES for the past month. Finally, the mysterious "Ben Marcin" was shown as a fictitious name under which anti-Semitic articles were written by various members of the *Social Justice* staff. He had been announced as a Jewish contributor to Silver Charlie's racist paper.

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Coughlin Calls for the "Hitler Way"

WHEN you're caught with the goods, the best reply is to grab a red herring and howl for bloody murder. This cornerstone of phony political behavior was laid last week in *Social Justice* magazine as Silver Charlie Coughlin's acolytes got the full strength of John L. Spivak's NEW MASSES series.

First comes a Royal Oak blast about NM's documents:

"The falsely advertised 'exposure' of the Rev. Father Coughlin by Johann von Speevich, alias John Spivak, alias Jo Spivus, is currently appearing in the Communist press. Our New York correspondents report that it has had the hoped-for effect of halting a circulation slump and of reviving contributions to the Red's magazine fund. Also it has taken minds off the tieup between top-ranking Communists and the German Nazis. . . ."

On the same page and immediately following the revelations about "Mr. Spivus," the Coughlinite riot call is printed under the heading "Let's Go!"

The usual Dies chatter about the Reds, in the manner of one of the late Tom Heflin's anti-Catholic attacks, leads up to the following incitement:

"Just because the incompetent journalism of a few slimy Red sheets cannot, on merit, attract enough readers to make them pay for ink and paper, are decent American Christians to be insulted and 'investigated' and smeared by revolting snoopers fattening at the swill pail of Red Communism?

"Well, they *are* doing it!

"Inaction is not necessarily a Christian virtue. Christ, we recall, took the cord of his garment and physically lashed the money changers out of the portico of the sacred Temple in Jerusalem. Was Christ precipitate? Are we to be more 'Christian' than Christ?

"What, then, are we waiting for—the revolution?

"Let's go!"

This, indeed, is the "Franco Way" so often advised by Silver Charlie. It is also the "Hitler Way" and the "Mussolini Way." It hasn't worked so well on the organized workers of Detroit in recent days. Perhaps Silver Charlie Coughlin might even sue NEW MASSES for libel. But then those documents would be presented *in court!*

self clear on that. Now, if you want to fight Lewis and the CIO I can give you a lot of help." He paused, and added slowly with emphasis: "You have possibilities in the labor movement and I want to help you. My newspaper, *Social Justice,* has an enormous circulation and following. Wait a minute," he exclaimed as if a sudden inspiration had occurred to him. "Let me get a couple of my editorial men so we can discuss this thing and see what we can do for you. I'm anxious to help you."

He beamed upon Martin and telephoned to the Shrine office. The "inspiration" seemed timed beautifully; it just happened that the two persons he wanted were around. Within a few minutes E. Perrin Schwartz, editor of *Social Justice,* and Joseph Patrick Wright, an editorial assistant, came in. Wright had a peculiar smile and Schwartz acknowledged the introductions standing with that hangdog crouch to his shoulders as if he feared someone would throw something at him any moment. Throughout the evening they didn't open their mouths, except once, unless Coughlin spoke to them. They just kept nodding their heads in approval at everything Silver Charlie said until Thomas began to wonder whether they were just yessing him or were afflicted with the jerks.

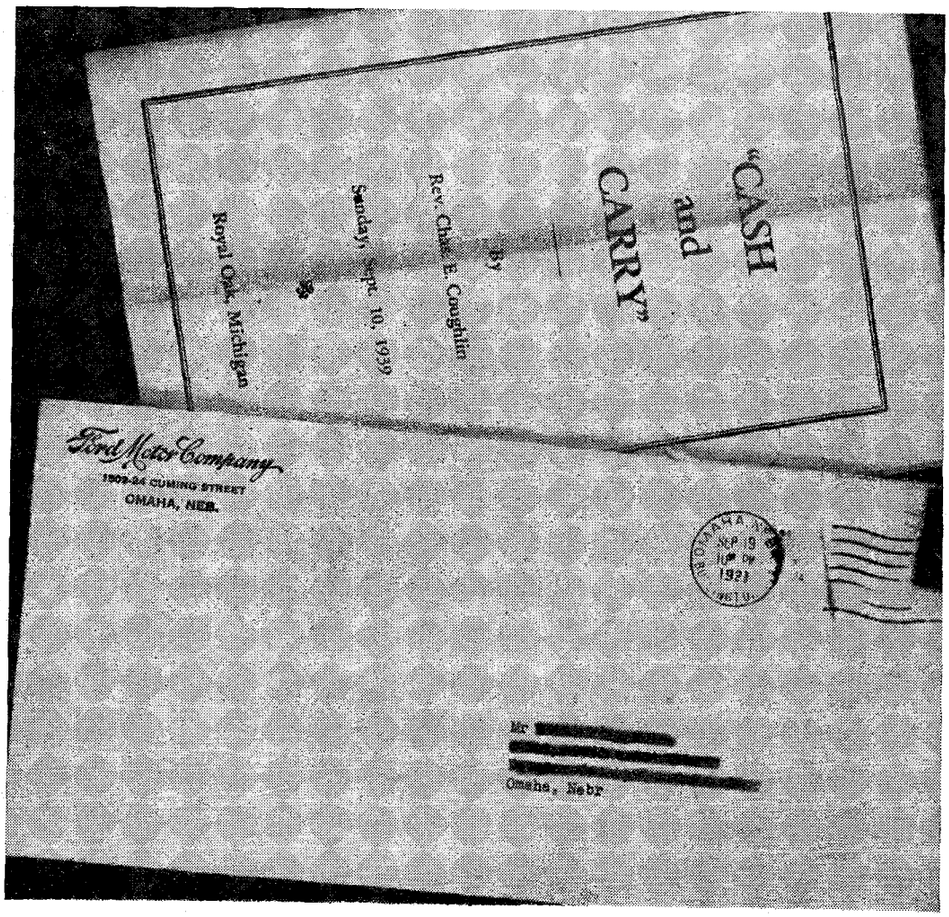
"You know, Homer," Coughlin said, taking a chair close to Martin, "I can call some meetings of priests. I have considerable influence with a lot of priests. I can arrange for them to see you, and they in turn have a great deal of influence."

Thomas couldn't figure it out. There was something behind all this which the priest hadn't sprung yet, he felt. Coughlin rose and began to pace the room, his head bowed as in deep thought. No one spoke. Both guests and employees eyed him. The priest seemed to be wrestling with himself like an actor on the stage who wanted to be sure the audience didn't miss the wrestle. Suddenly he paused dramatically in front of Martin with the air of one who has reached a decision and was about to dispense a great gift.

"Homer," he said, "how would you like to have the auto workers organize the Ford Motor Co.?"

Schwartz and Wright caught their breath audibly as if amazed at the priest's generosity. Martin himself didn't seem as startled as a labor leader offered such a gift should, and Thomas, for the first time, wondered if Martin hadn't known what was coming.

"Well," said Martin, "that would be very nice."



JUST ANOTHER LITTLE TIEUP. *The Ford Motor Co. offices in Omaha, Neb., distributed Silver Charlie's embargo orations to influence local opinion.*

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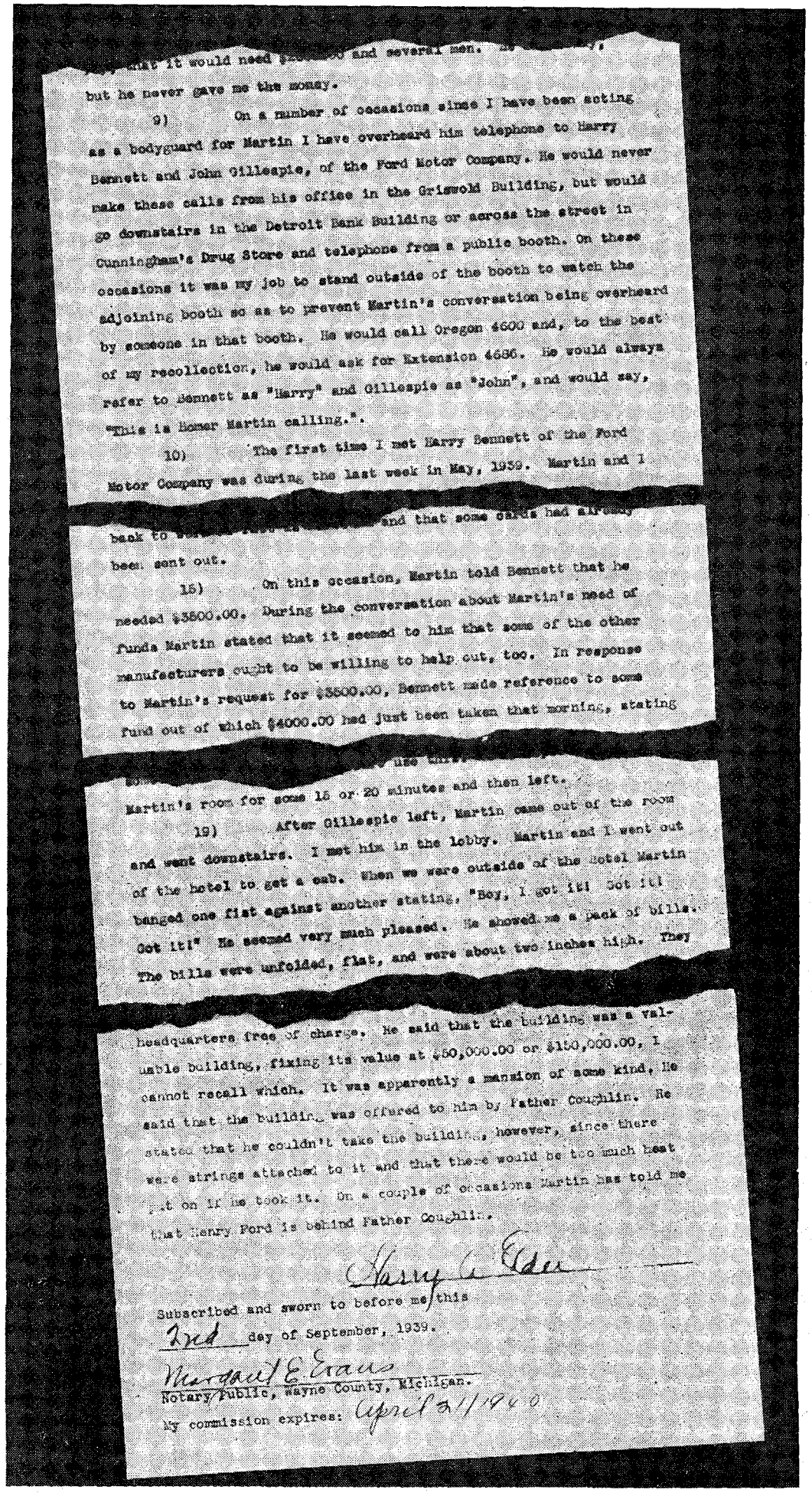
Coughlin looked at Thomas, whose baby-innocent stare hadn't changed. "The auto workers would very much like to organize the Ford plant," said Thomas.

FORD'S LABOR TACTICS

The CIO was making intensive efforts to organize the Ford plant. Ford was fighting them tooth and nail. The entire huge system of labor spies developed by Harry Bennett was in motion to stop the union, yet here was this priest, known to labor as not so friendly to them despite all his protestations, offering to let the auto workers organize the plant. There was something behind this which made Thomas uneasy. He was familiar with Coughlin's labor speeches and had long ago concluded that when Silver Charlie advised labor to follow his advice it almost invariably turned out that the employers got the benefit of it. Thomas remembered that back in 1934, when the auto companies fought unemployment insurance and old age pensions, Coughlin had raised a wail that the companies would go out of business. He remembered how Silver Charlie, while orating for union labor on the air, hired non-union labor to build this very church and rectory they were in. There was something in his unctuous speeches as a "friend of labor" which always seemed to hand labor the short end of the deal, when you got down to what it was all about.

This offer to organize the Ford Motor Car Co. employees, which neither the AFL nor the CIO had been able to do, sounded a bit peculiar, especially coming just when the union was making real headway. It was an old trick, Thomas knew, for employers to hire people to split the union ranks by starting another union. Such tactics, in labor spy parlance, are known as using "disrupters." The priest had started by attacking the CIO and its leadership. That meant starting a different union which in turn meant creating an internal fight that would inevitably disrupt the drive to organize the auto workers. Employers had long followed such strategy and Ford himself was annually spending a fortune on labor spies for just such purposes. Only a company union would be permitted in the Ford plant. There was the case of the mushroom Workers Council for Social Justice, Inc., in 1937, which had all the Coughlin earmarks. It had been financed by a mysterious individual and the officers were Ford employees whom Harry Bennett had given "leave of absence." That effort fizzled, but it showed the Coughlin touch and the Coughlin desire to enter the labor union field. It was well known that unscrupulous persons had made fortunes by getting control of labor unions.

Thomas knew nothing about Coughlin's other activities except that it was generally known that while Silver Charlie was denouncing stockmarket gambling in his broadcasts, he himself was surreptitiously playing the market. Thomas had wondered, along with many others, where the priest was getting the enormous sums of money to pay for his national broadcasts. Neither he nor the general



but he never gave me the money.

9) On a number of occasions since I have been acting as a bodyguard for Martin I have overheard him telephone to Harry Bennett and John Gillespie, of the Ford Motor Company. He would never make these calls from his office in the Griswold Building, but would go downstairs in the Detroit Bank Building or across the street in Cunningham's Drug Store and telephone from a public booth. On these occasions it was my job to stand outside of the booth to watch the adjoining booth so as to prevent Martin's conversation being overheard by someone in that booth. He would call Oregon 4600 and, to the best of my recollection, he would ask for Extension 4686. He would always refer to Bennett as "Harry" and Gillespie as "John", and would say, "This is Homer Martin calling.".

10) The first time I met Harry Bennett of the Ford Motor Company was during the last week in May, 1939. Martin and I

bank to [illegible] and that some cards had already been sent out.

15) On this occasion, Martin told Bennett that he needed $3500.00. During the conversation about Martin's need of funds Martin stated that it seemed to him that some of the other manufacturers ought to be willing to help out, too. In response to Martin's request for $3500.00, Bennett made reference to some fund out of which $4000.00 had just been taken that morning, stating

[illegible]

Martin's room for some 15 or 20 minutes and then left.

19) After Gillespie left, Martin came out of the room and went downstairs. I met him in the lobby. Martin and I went out of the hotel to get a cab. When we were outside of the hotel Martin banged one fist against another stating, "Boy, I got it! Got it! Got it!" He seemed very much pleased. He showed me a pack of bills. The bills were unfolded, flat, and were about two inches high. They

headquarters free of charge. He said that the building was a valuable building, fixing its value at $60,000.00 or $100,000.00, I cannot recall which. It was apparently a mansion of some kind. He said that the building was offered to him by Father Coughlin. He stated that he couldn't take the building, however, since there were strings attached to it and that there would be too much heat on it if he took it. On a couple of occasions Martin has told me that Henry Ford is behind Father Coughlin.

Harry A. Elder

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 2nd day of September, 1939.

Margaret E. Evans
Notary Public, Wayne County, Michigan.
My commission expires: April 21, 1940

FORD'S GESTAPO SUPPLIES THE FUNDS. *The affidavit of Harry A. Elder, who acted as Homer Martin's bodyguard, tells how the labor "leader" got thousands of dollars from Harry Bennett of Ford's secret service to hire thugs and buy them guns with which to attack CIO organizers. Silver Charlie Coughlin, who arranged for Martin's meetings with Bennett, offered Martin a building free of charge for use as union headquarters.*

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public knew that those broadcasts were supposed to be paid for by *Social Justice* magazine, but that this publication was losing large sums annually and couldn't possibly be meeting the broadcasting costs. Many of these broadcasts were directed against the CIO. There was something very phony about all this, and Thomas eyed him questioningly.

"YOU SHOULD MEET MR. FORD"

Coughlin noticed the look but apparently mistook it for doubt as to whether he could do what he had said. "I have a very high official in the Ford Motor Co. who is in my parish," he said quickly. "It's Vice President Martin of the Ford Motor Co."

Schwartz, his editor, opened his mouth for the first time. "Yes, that's true," he said brightly.

Coughlin shot a disapproving glance at him, and the editorial brains promptly retired to his silence.

"You know," Silver Charlie continued, "I think it would be a good thing if I contact Vice President Martin. He can arrange a meeting between you and Henry Ford. I think Mr. Ford would like to hear your views and I am sure you would enjoy meeting him."

Homer Martin nodded and glanced at Thomas with a what-do-you-say air. Thomas shrugged his shoulders without committing himself.

"I'll tell you what, Homer," the priest added. "You write me a letter saying you want to meet Henry Ford and I'll see to it that Vice President Martin makes the arrangements."

Thomas was finally convinced that it wasn't just a screwy offer but that the whole thing had been arranged just for this purpose, and he asked innocently: "But Father, don't you think Homer should meet Harry Bennett too?"

"Oh no—no—no!" the priest exclaimed. "I don't think this is the time. I think he should first discuss matters with Mr. Ford directly."

Once this was settled the shrewd priest quickly switched to the country's political setup. He didn't like it. Henry Ford didn't like it either.

"Mr. Thomas," he said at one point, "you haven't said very much this evening."

"I was listening, Father," said Thomas, the baby stare becoming even more innocent. "I was very interested."

THE CORPORATE STATE

"I am always interested in everybody's ideas, too. Now, I've got an idea I'd like to get your reaction on. I'm interested in protecting the interests of the workers, as you know. What do you think of this idea: suppose we were to set up an entirely new political machine in this country so that workers would have representation in Congress as workers?"

"I think if workers had a strong say in Congress it would be very good," said Thomas, wondering what was coming next.

"Let me finish. What I've got in mind is that workers be represented in Congress, lawyers have an organization and be represented in Congress. Doctors the same thing. Capital should have an organization and also be represented in Congress. What do you think of it?"

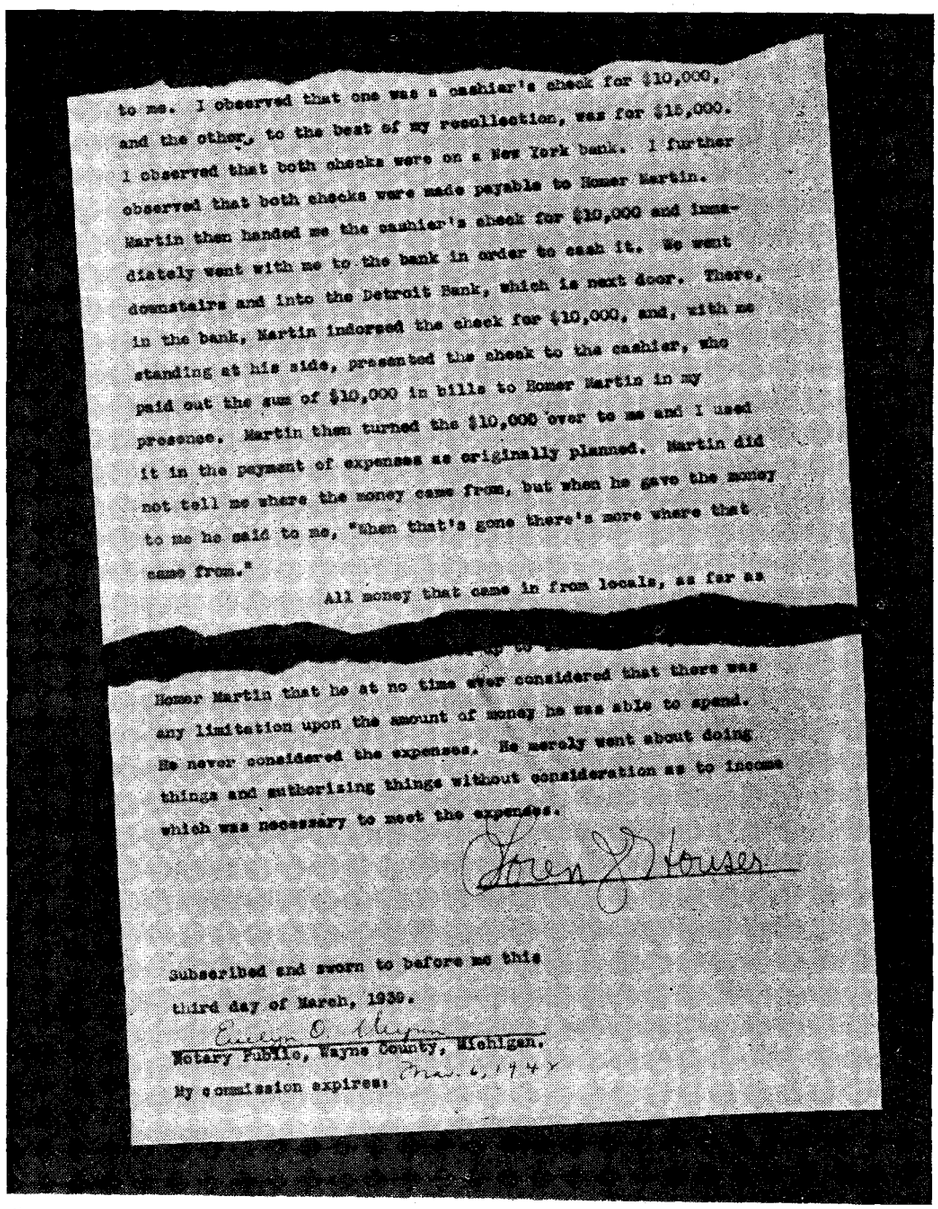
"Isn't that the corporate state idea?" asked Thomas innocently. "It's the same sort of idea Mussolini put across in Italy and ultimately crushed the labor movement there. Hitler did the same thing in Germany. Personally, I think American workers are getting on all right under our democratic form of government. When the workers learn which side their bread is buttered on they'll get what they want from Congress. If those in Congress won't give it to them they'll send representatives who will."

The priest dropped the subject promptly and turned to his editor. "Perrin," he said expansively, "what do you think we could do to help Homer out? I'd like to help him, you know," and he added to Martin: "I can't go on the radio and speak for you but I can use my newspaper for that purpose. I can also call meetings of priests and influence them. But I don't believe I'll be able to do anything for you unless you pull out of the CIO."

Thomas stifled a smile. He had expected it, and the priest had finally come out plainly. That was the "punch line," as they call it in show business, in this drama played by Silver Charlie as the first step the Ford interests needed to split the CIO.

OTHER MEETINGS

There were several other meetings with the radio priest, the second one some two weeks later after Homer Martin wrote to Coughlin



to me. I observed that one was a cashier's check for $10,000, and the other, to the best of my recollection, was for $15,000. I observed that both checks were on a New York bank. I further observed that both checks were made payable to Homer Martin. Martin then handed me the cashier's check for $10,000 and immediately went with me to the bank in order to cash it. We went downstairs and into the Detroit Bank, which is next door. There, in the bank, Martin indorsed the check for $10,000, and, with me standing at his side, presented the check to the cashier, who paid out the sum of $10,000 in bills to Homer Martin in my presence. Martin then turned the $10,000 over to me and I used it in the payment of expenses as originally planned. Martin did not tell me where the money came from, but when he gave the money to me he said to me, "When that's gone there's more where that came from."

All money that came in from locals, as far as

Homer Martin that he at no time ever considered that there was any limitation upon the amount of money he was able to spend. He never considered the expenses. He merely went about doing things and authorizing things without consideration as to income which was necessary to meet the expenses.

Loren J. Houser

Subscribed and sworn to before me this third day of March, 1939.

Evelyn O. Meyer
Notary Public, Wayne County, Michigan.
My commission expires: Mar. 6, 1942

"HOW MUCH DO YOU NEED?" *Homer Martin helps Loren J. Houser, secretary-treasurer of the UAW, meet the payroll with checks for $10,000 and $15,000 drawn on a New York bank and made payable to Martin personally. "When that's gone there's more where it came from," he said. Where this money, a small part of the funds Martin had at his disposal, came from was a mystery for a while.*

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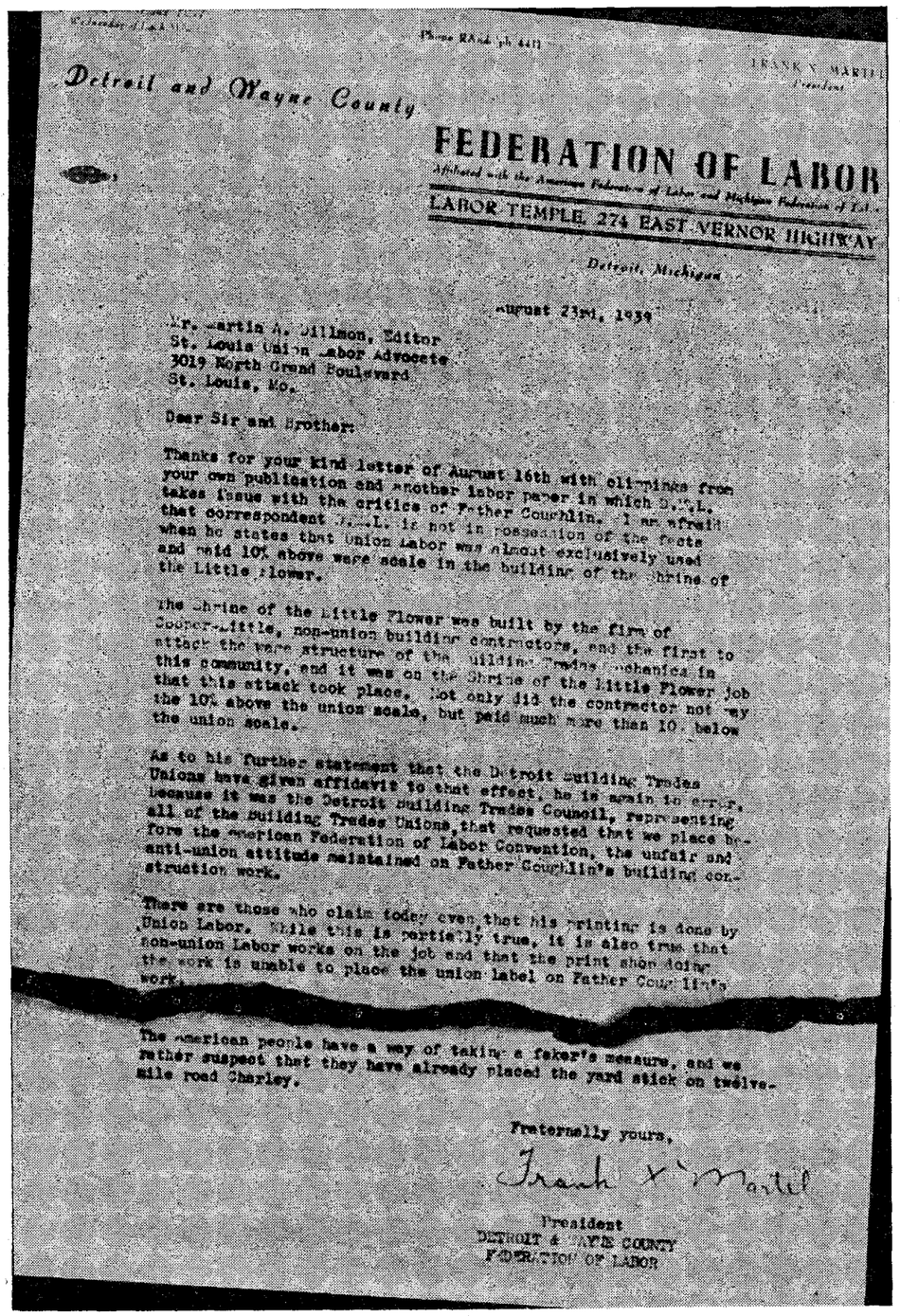
saying he wanted to meet Henry Ford. Thomas attended the second meeting to see just how far matters had gone. At this session Silver Charlie for the first time launched into an anti-Semitic tirade, accusing Richard Frankensteen of being a Jew, charging that many CIO organizers were Jews, that Jews on the executive board of the union were interfering with his efforts to bring his kind of peace in the labor field. Thomas recollected that Silver Charlie had protested repeatedly that he was not anti-Semitic, yet here he was charging that Jews were responsible for much of the CIO activities. Hitler did the same thing in Germany before he got in power and finally crushed the labor unions.

Thomas refused to attend any more sessions after this second one. What happened between Homer Martin and Silver Charlie when Thomas wasn't present I don't know, since Thomas told me the details of the first two meetings; but it was shortly after this meeting, when Coughlin tried to arrange for Martin to meet Henry Ford, that the Ford labor spy chief, Bennett, began to shell out large sums of money to Martin. The members of Martin's union of course did not suspect that their "leader" was getting money from Ford's secret service.

Within a couple of months after these meetings at the Shrine of the Little Flower rectory, Homer Martin had left the CIO and found himself with plenty of money to hire thugs. He supplied them with money to buy guns for raids and physical attacks upon CIO organizers.



Detroit and Wayne County

FEDERATION OF LABOR

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Michigan Federation of Labor

LABOR TEMPLE, 274 EAST VERNOR HIGHWAY

Detroit, Michigan

August 23rd, 1939

Mr. Martin A. Gillmon, Editor
St. Louis Union Labor Advocate
3019 North Grand Boulevard
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Thanks for your kind letter of August 16th with clippings from your own publication and another labor paper in which Mr. [illegible] takes issue with the critics of Father Coughlin. I am afraid that correspondent [illegible] is not in possession of the facts when he states that Union Labor was almost exclusively used and paid 10% above wage scale in the building of the Shrine of the Little Flower.

The Shrine of the Little Flower was built by the firm of Cooper-Little, non-union building contractors, and the first to attack the wage structure of the building trades mechanics in this community, and it was on the Shrine of the Little Flower job that this attack took place. Not only did the contractor not pay the 10% above the union scale, but paid much more than 10% below the union scale.

As to his further statement that the Detroit Building Trades Unions have given affidavit to that effect, he is again in error, because it was the Detroit Building Trades Council, representing all of the Building Trades Unions, that requested that we place before the American Federation of Labor Convention, the unfair and anti-union attitude maintained on Father Coughlin's building construction work.

There are those who claim today even that his printing is done by Union Labor. While this is partially true, it is also true that non-union Labor works on the job and that the print shop doing the work is unable to place the union label on Father Coughlin's work.

The American people have a way of taking a faker's measure, and we rather suspect that they have already placed the yard stick on twelve-mile road Charley.

Fraternally yours,

Frank X Martel

President
DETROIT & WAYNE COUNTY
FEDERATION OF LABOR

"TAKING A FAKER'S MEASURE." *AFL leaders aren't kidded by Silver Charlie Coughlin's denunciations of the CIO as "Red." Coughlin is anti-union even when it's AFL. "The American people," writes the president of the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor (AFL), "have a way of taking a faker's measure" after "the hypocrisy that he showed to the local labor people."*

HARRY ELDER'S STORY

Let me tell the story of Harry A. Elder, of St. Louis, Mo., formerly vice president of Local 320 of the United Automobile Workers of America, who was hired as a plug-ugly by Homer Martin. I am publishing salient excerpts in photostatic form from Elder's affidavit in my possession.

By January 1939 Martin had become very thick with Harry Bennett. The labor "leader" needed some tough babies and Elder was known as one. A Martin representative called on Elder in St. Louis and offered him a job at $50 a week and $6 a day for expenses. Elder arrived in Detroit Feb. 17, 1939, and checked into the Eddystone Hotel, where Martin was living.

Martin promptly told him that he wanted the tough baby to get some "boys" and some guns and raid the Communist Party headquarters on Fourteenth Street, destroy the records and "do plenty of damage generally." (The Communists' analysis of Homer Martin's activities pointed to a split-the-union tactic and Martin was being denounced as a suspected stoolpigeon.) The labor "leader" also wanted three labor organizers, Emil Mazey, John Ringwald, and Walter Reuther, who were attacking Martin's union-busting activities, to be "properly taken care of." Martin didn't want these men killed but "just put in a hospital. Break a couple of arms, etc." As a starter Martin gave Elder $250 to go to St. Louis "to get some boys to help out and to get some guns."

Elder acted as Martin's bodyguard and throughout this period Martin was in constant telephone and personal communication with Harry Bennett and John Gillespie, Bennett's chief assistant. Secrecy surrounded all these conversations and meetings lest honest union members get wise. Whenever Martin wanted to call Bennett he left the Griswold Building and telephoned from the Detroit Bank Building downstairs or from a booth in the Cunningham Drug Store across the street. It was Elder's job during these calls to stay outside the phone booth to be sure no one overheard the conversation.

In May 1939 Martin and Elder, after a late but hearty breakfast at Stouffer's restaurant on Washington Boulevard in Detroit, hailed a passing taxi and instructed the driver to go to the Ford Administration Building. Martin kept peering through the rear window of the car to be sure no one was following him. At the Administration Building he went di-

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rectly to Harry Bennett's office. It was obviously not the first time, for the man at the desk recognized the labor "leader" and ushered them into Bennett's office immediately lest someone not connected with the labor spy organization see them.

As soon as the door closed, Martin promptly brought up his union problems—a procedure followed by paid labor spies. (The conversation concerned the choice of a judge to sit in a case between Martin's group and the CIO; I am not detailing it here since I am mainly concerned with showing the role Coughlin played for the Ford interests while posing as a friend of labor, and not in exposing a labor spy.)

It was during this meeting with Bennett that Martin explained to Elder that he had wanted to leave the CIO long before, but Henry Ford and Bennett sent for him and told him they didn't want him to resign. They were quite satisfied with him, they said. Ford personally promised to go along and give him financial help to fight the CIO. Ford had smiled amiably and said, "You can't get along without such financial help, you know."

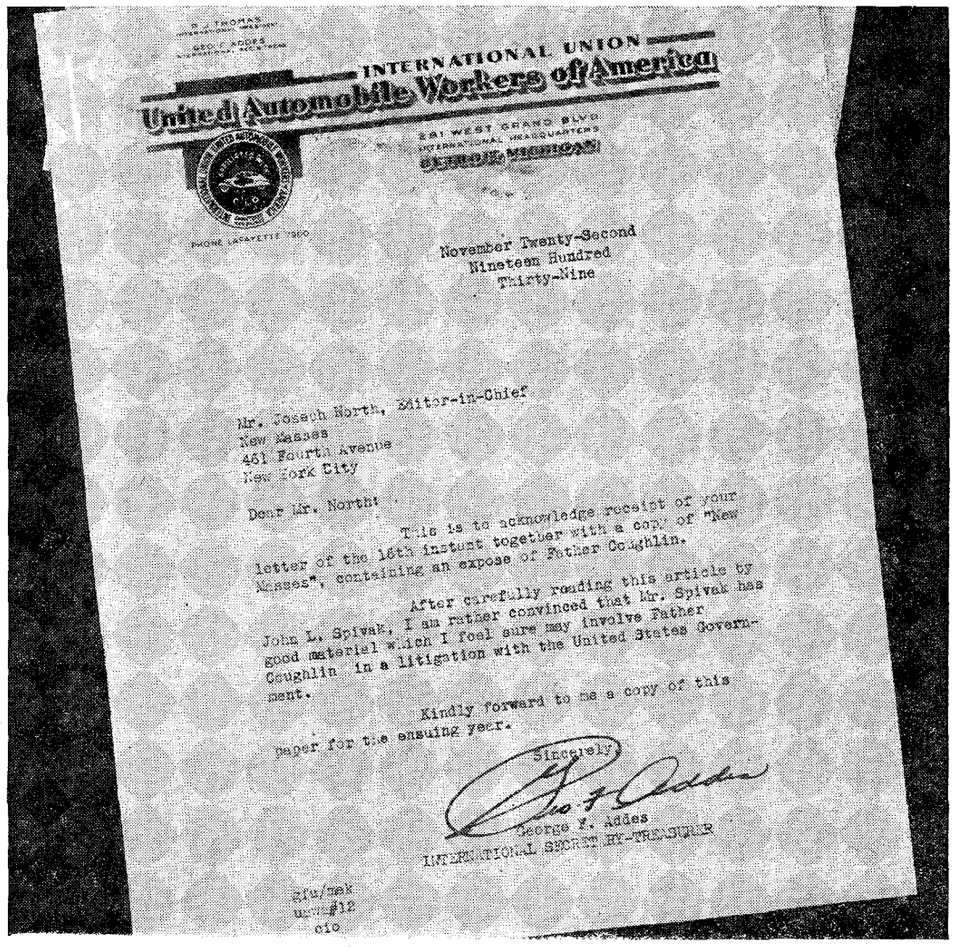
When the discussion drew to a close Martin said he needed $3,500.

"Some $4,000 has been taken out of the fund this morning," said Bennett, and added that when he found out how much was in the fund he would communicate with him. Bennett was obviously too shrewd to make payments in the presence of a third person and he apparently didn't like Martin's telling what Ford had said, because he warned both of them, quietly but effectively, that the conversations in his office were to be kept strictly secret. "If anything leaks out," he added, "he'll be taken care of."

The return to union headquarters was made in a Ford Co. car placed at their disposal. The driver was told to stop near the Book-Cadillac Hotel to let them out and they walked the short distance to the union offices. It was on the trip back that Martin confided that he couldn't have run his union if Henry Ford hadn't given him help.

John Gillespie, Harry Bennett's chief aide, called upon Martin at the Eddystone Hotel on the following day. Elder was instructed to stand outside the door to prevent anyone from walking in or overhearing the conversation. After fifteen or twenty minutes Gillespie left and Martin came out striking a fist against the palm of his hand in glee. "Boy, I got it, I got it!" he exclaimed. Martin showed his bodyguard a stack of bills about two inches high. The top was a twenty and the packets were flat, as if the bank had handed them out as they came. The bands were still around them.

Throughout this period, when Martin was in constant touch with Silver Charlie, Coughlin apparently tried to play another angle which would give him a direct hold on Martin. On several occasions the radio priest offered Martin a building estimated to be worth between $50,000 and $150,000 as his union headquarters. Martin was afraid of it; there were too many strings attached to the offer. Then, too, some honest union members might ask too many questions, especially if it leaked out that Ford was behind Coughlin.



INTERNATIONAL UNION
United Automobile Workers of America

November Twenty-Second
Nineteen Hundred
Thirty-Nine

Mr. Joseph North, Editor-in-Chief
New Masses
461 Fourth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. North:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th instant together with a copy of "New Masses", containing an expose of Father Coughlin.

After carefully reading this article by John L. Spivak, I am rather convinced that Mr. Spivak has good material which I feel sure may involve Father Coughlin in a litigation with the United States Government.

Kindly forward to me a copy of this paper for the ensuing year.

Sincerely,

George F. Addes
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

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FROM A CATHOLIC TRADE-UNIONIST. *George F. Addes, UAW secretary and treasurer, is a member of the board of the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights.*

To split the CIO auto workers union, which was making considerable progress in organizing the Ford plant, by an internal fight was obviously good tactics to halt the unionizing drive. To start an "independent" union seeking a vaguely promised "social justice" was obviously another swell way to confuse the workers and prevent them from forming a solid front. Appeals to religious elements that the union making headway was directed by "atheists" and to patriotic Americans that the union leaders were "Reds" and "agents of Moscow," also kept many auto workers from joining. Smart manufacturers and directors of their labor spy divisions pay people to create these "smokescreens" while they pose as good union members or "friends of labor."

Oddly enough, we find that Silver Charlie Coughlin in his efforts "to help labor" has done precisely such things as those for which labor spies and disrupters are paid. Again, oddly enough, his broadcasts even today are devoted to attacking the CIO, which has not ceased its efforts to organize the auto workers. These talks, as I have mentioned, are supposed to be paid for by *Social Justice,* but *Social Justice* has been operating on a deficit of between $60,000 and $75,000 a year in the last few years. And though there's a deficit, Coughlin has been trying to get more stations. Money doesn't seem to worry him and —he has never explained who is meeting these deficits.

Incidentally, before I close this article, there's another very odd point: Gerald L. K. Smith, Silver Shirt member No. 3223, is also attacking the CIO. Smith's broadcasts are handled by Aircasters, Inc., that peculiar advertising agency whose president, Stanley Boynton, was and is now an employee of *Social Justice.* Smith hasn't explained where he gets the money to pay for his broadcasts, either.

Silver Charlie's strange tieups and mysterious financial backing are not confined to collecting money from the people by assurances that it's to be used for one thing and then using it for another. Their ramifications are even more sinister, for they are closely allied with those of secret foreign agents and propagandists working for Nazi Germany in the United States.

JOHN L. SPIVAK.

Next week: John L. Spivak will tell of the conference Silver Charlie had with Nazi agents and propagandists, of propaganda emanating from Germany which he disseminates, of an advertising scheme he's working at the present time with a "Relic of the True Cross," and what the Catholic Church has to say about the several million dollars he's collected from the public.

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William Gropper

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A N E D I T O R I A L A R T I C L E

Little Finland's Big Bosses

The powers behind Finland reveal themselves. Is Uncle Sam to become Britain's catspaw to rake Chamberlain's chestnuts out of the Baltic?

PHILOSOPHERS say that the present is merely the meeting point of the past and the future. The present Soviet advance into Finland cancels the ugly past; it is intended to forestall the chance of an uglier future. The existence of capitalist Finland on the borders of the Soviet Union was a monument to General Mannerheim. It was a Potter's Field for the Finnish working class; a constant reminder to the peoples of the Soviet Union of those days when the young socialist republic struggled at embittering odds against German, Allied, and American intervention in its internal affairs. Intervention against the Soviet Union was halted; twenty years intervened. The Soviet Red Army is now striking back at the interventionists; by that act, it is also winning the first battle in any future imperialist war against it.

Reasonable, thinking people who want to understand the policies of our time and participate in it effectively cannot view the present situation in terms of small and large nations. The issue between Italy and Ethiopia was not a matter of size. Measured in square kilometers, Spain was the equal of Germany. If we think in terms of length and width, we might sympathize with little Japan in her war against the Dragon-That-Walks-Like-A-Man.

THROUGH FINNISH SOIL

There is another dimension involved in the present issue with Finland, a political dimension. It was through Finnish soil that the German armies overran northern Russia after the robber peace of Brest-Litovsk. It was through Finnish soil that the Allies invaded Lenin's republic after the Germans were defeated in the autumn of 1918. It was from Finland that the great Finnish patriot, General Mannerheim, who had sold himself in turn for rubles, marks, pounds, and dollars, directed attacks upon Soviet Karelia in 1919 and 1921. It was on this soil, well soaked in the blood of Finnish workers, that fascist Germany prepared aggression upon the Soviet Union. It was this earth that the Finns mined with British and American munitions; here they stubbornly gamble, "trusting in God—and in some possible complication that might bring in the great powers," as a local Finnish White Guard phrased it.

Today, the great Mannerheim trembles. Mr. Chamberlain worries. Mr. Hoover foams at the mouth. Even Franklin D. Roosevelt bares his teeth in a smile. Clemenceau, the Tiger, wrestles in his grave. The Baltic states comprised the famous *cordon sanitaire* around the socialist republic. Designed as corridors for bloody deeds, they have been turned inside out by Soviet diplomacy. As friendly neutrals, they have been spared the horror which now grips Holland, Belgium, and Denmark in the imperialist war. The Soviet Union negotiated with these countries in a dignified, pacific manner. Finland had the same opportunities for negotiation. If the issue is simply a matter of a wanton assault upon Finland, how come the Russians waited for eight weeks before they took action?

The answer lies with the gamblers who misled the Finnish people, the speculators who assembled last week, ironically enough, beneath the vaults of the National Bank of Finland. One Cabinet resigned; another replaced it. How perfectly appropriate that Mr. Risto Ryti, the governor of the Bank of Finland, comes out from behind the scenes to save the stakes which his pals could not win. But more than sleight-of-hand will be required if the destinies of the Finnish people are to be secured. The government which hides in the cellars of the Bank of Finland has appealed to the League of Nations. And lo! there is a mighty commotion at Geneva: a strange resurrection. The diplomats who insulted Juan Negrin, laughed in the face of Del Vayo, plotted war while Litvinov called for peace, now scurry to invoke the League of Nations Covenant. When Finland, upon Anglo-German instigation, first broached the refortification of the Aland Islands, Sweden protested; the Soviet Union brought the matter before the May 1939 session of the League Assembly. But now Sweden cheers the Finns on, supplies arms, money, and food across its "Portuguese" border. And Finland, which attempted during the whole year of 1938 to nullify Article 16 of the League Covenant, on the one hand violates the Aland convention of 1920 by refortifying the islands, and on the other, doth protest to the League against the Soviet Union! A page for Litvinov's memoirs!

The Soviet Union has recognized the new democratic government, the heir of that people's government which General Mannerheim drowned in Finnish blood with German and British munitions. This is not a soviet government; it is the exact prototype of the true people's front, the republic in which the power of monopoly capital and imperialist intrigue has been broken—the kind of republic, be it remembered, that Spain might have been were it not for that unholy alliance between Herr Hitler, Signor Mussolini, and Mr. Chamberlain in which Franklin D. Roosevelt played his miserable part.

Did we say Roosevelt? Indeed, where was this hero in the years 1936-37-38? The ghosts of thousands of Spanish children want testimony on this question. Where was his fireside manner in those months when the Messerschmidts shattered the Valencian skies and reigned hell over Barcelona? Millions of Americans who wanted Spain to live have a right to ask for answers to this question.

The President declares a moral embargo against the Soviet Union because of the alleged bombing of civilian populations. But did the cables from Minister Schoenfeld say anything about the bombardment of civilian populations? By what right does the President deny the statement of Premier Molotov that no such bombings have been carried out, the specific assurance to the same effect in the Soviet newspaper *Pravda*? A moral embargo upon Russian purchase of planes? Yet, in the month of October, the Soviet Union spent $10,000 for commercial airplanes; for the first ten months of this year less than $1,000,000. Has the President read a report of his State Department for November 25, which reveals that Finland and Sweden were among the nations that "bulked large" in American aircraft trade for October 1939, that Finland in one month spent $848,900 for parts and engines, almost as much as the Soviet Union during the whole year?

AMERICAN STRATEGY

Why, then, this synchronized outcry in the American press? Why, then, this calculated strategy from the White House? We know why. It is because American imperialism, in common with British, French (and German also), realizes to its bitter chagrin that the Soviet Union is closing an unfinished chapter in the battle against intervention. By the same stroke, it is fortifying the first socialist republic against the danger of a new stage in the intervention that may come at any time.

But there is a deeper reason why President Roosevelt rushes in obscene haste to irritate relations between the United States and the second most powerful country in the world. That reason lies in his own preparations for war. By yielding—nay, taking up the lead—in the campaign of Red-baiting in this most provocative display against a sovereign nation, the President is cementing unity in the ranks of the American capitalist class which had been broken in the era of the New Deal. By fanning the flames of anti-Soviet chauvinism, Roosevelt accomplishes what chauvinism is always intended to accomplish: the blurring of differences between the peoples and their rulers. The unity of the people is undermined, their thoughts turned elsewhere, their minds diverted from those measures which

(Continued on page 21)

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Twenty Miles from Leningrad

Alter Brody gives the background against which the Soviets are now moving. Safeguarding Leningrad's "Long Island Sound." The reason for "little Finland's" bravado.

THE United States sits astride the Western Hemisphere with oceans between it and its nearest potential enemy. The frontier of its northern neighbor is demilitarized by a treaty which places Canada at the mercy of our superior military might. All the rest of the hemisphere from Greenland to Chile is plastered with a "no trespassing" sign called the Monroe Doctrine, posted on the fences of countries whose permission was never asked and who to this day have never recognized it. Farflung military outposts are maintained on the "independent" soil of Cuba and Panama and the subject soil of the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. Thus protected, the American people are now being aroused against the audacious attempt of the Soviet Union to achieve the same security—but without imperialist exploitation—in the Gulf of Finland, the Long Island Sound of Leningrad.

"Soviet aggression" cries the tory press that only two years ago howled down President Roosevelt as a warmonger for his "Quarantine the Aggressor" speech—because the aggression then seemed to be heading for the Soviet Union. "Unprovoked aggression" chorus the liberal weeklies; a few months ago, at the time of the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations, they had no doubts why the Soviet Union insisted on guarantees against the Baltic states being used as bases for an attack on the USSR—and why the fascist-minded governments of these states, particularly Finland, refused to be guaranteed against designs that were cornerstones of their foreign policy. "Red imperialism" yell the isolationists who want to isolate themselves from the great big wicked world in a little nook stretching from Greenland to Chile and from Guam to Puerto Rico, patrolled by the most powerful fleet in the world.

STATE DEPARTMENT RECORDS

If the Soviet Union had really "betrayed the revolution" as our liberal friends opine and had become an ordinary imperialist state like Britain, France, Germany, or the United States, it would not be necessary to "explain" its conduct. It would be the most natural thing in the world. Our own State Department has gone on record on this subject. In 1920, when our government was considering temporary *de facto* recognition of the Baltic states (only the Soviet Union, against which they were fighting, had given them unqualified recognition), our special representative at Riga said in a dispatch to the State Department:

> The leading men here [in the Baltic states] are under no illusion as to the future relation of these states to Russia, and realize full well that with an orderly, well established government in Russia the Baltic provinces will again become a part of what will probably be a federated Russia.

What was meant by "an orderly, well established government" is no mystery. It is the kind of government that Washington hastened to recognize the day after Franco entered Madrid, though it had waited sixteen years to recognize the socialist government of the Soviet Union. In the first imperialist war, czarist Russia's "democratic" Allies (including the USA) were quite willing to partition Central Europe, the Balkans, Turkey, and Persia with her. Far from objecting to her imperialist ambitions, they were helping her realize them. It was when Russia went Bolshevist that she became "a menace to the world." Now, according to our liberal friends, Russia is no longer Bolshevist. But our tory friends, who have a much better nose for such matters, insist that Russia is a greater menace than ever. As always, it is the tories who react according to Marxism though the liberals can discuss it learnedly.

NOT SPORTSMANLIKE

Perhaps it is not sportsmanlike for the Soviet Union to take advantage of the temporary rift between its capitalist-fascist enemies in order to recover indispensable strategic positions which it lost as a penalty for becoming the first socialist republic. But then, many English liberals think it very unsportsmanlike of India, with its three hundred and fifty million people, to take advantage of little England, with its forty million, by asking for independence at this critical time. History, however, is in a hurry these days. History cannot pause to be civil.

The Soviet Union's leaders know — not merely from Marxist theory, but from bloody experience acquired during revolution, civil war, and intervention—that the differences of the capitalist powers are not insuperable in the face of socialism's advance. In the heat of the last imperialist war, while the British, French, and German armies were slaughtering each other on the Western Front, they were able to collaborate in the Baltic states, aiding the local fascists in crushing their own revolutionary masses and in attacking the first socialist republic. These are well attested historical facts, which liberals know quite as well as Communists. But to Communists facts are not merely "food for thought" as they are to some liberal political epicures, but *food for action.*

So long as the postwar status quo was maintained in the Baltic, the Soviet Union endured the precarious position of its chief sea outlet and military key to all of northern Russia. The Soviet Union knew that the east Baltic countries were economic colonies of British imperialism—its creatures and its tools. But it was reassured by the distance that separated British imperialism from its dangerous tools. With the rearming of Germany under the Nazis, a rearming fostered by Britain for its purposes, the situation in the Baltic was radically altered so far as the Soviet Union was concerned.

THE BALTIC THREAT

The Soviet Union was completely aware of the fact that not only its chief sea outlet but the entire Soviet north, which was connected with Leningrad by the great Baltic-White Sea Canal, was at the mercy of any great power that controlled the Baltic states. And there was no doubt about which great power was the preference of these states. The Baltic states themselves made it brazenly clear. As recently as last summer, during the negotiations for a proposed Anglo-French-Soviet alliance to halt Nazi aggression, the New York *Times* was full of the frank iterations of the governments of Finland, Latvia, and Estonia about preferring Nazi Germany to Communist Russia in a crisis, just as the Polish landowners went down in history as preferring Nazi conquest to permitting the Red Army to pass through their Ukrainian and Byelo Russian estates. The sudden desire of Finland to fortify the Aland Islands dominating the northern Baltic was a concrete instance of this preference which the Soviet Union could not ignore. It was the Soviet insistence, during the Anglo-French-Soviet military negotiations, on measures to ensure against Nazi control of the strategic Baltic states, and the refusal of the Anglo-British imperialists to accede to this, which helped to convince Soviet diplomacy that Chamberlain's anti-Nazi protestations were not genuine. As ever, his real purpose was still the organization of a four-power pact against the Soviet Union.

Though the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact temporarily halted this attempt to cement a London-Berlin axis, the position of the Soviet Union in the Baltic remained precarious. Despite all the lies about a Soviet-German alliance, it was just as much exposed as before to the danger of a Nazi or an Anglo-Nazi thrust at Leningrad that could cut the Soviet Union in half. The connivance of the Estonian government in releasing an interned Polish submarine, which resulted in the sinking of a Soviet ship and threatened to block all Soviet shipping in the narrow Gulf of Finland, gave the Soviet Union an inkling of what might happen on a grander scale if the USSR were involved in a war. The Soviet Union then and there decided that it was time to stabilize the Baltic situation by declaring what amounts to a Monroe

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Doctrine over its side of the Baltic. This, of course, necessitated the same kind of military and naval implementation without which the American Monroe Doctrine would be a scrap of paper. Just as the United States leased Guantanamo Bay from the sovereign state of Cuba and the Panama Canal Zone from the sovereign state of Panama as military and naval bases to implement the Monroe Doctrine, which gives all the Americas the luxury of security in these perilous days, so the Soviet Union asked and secured the right from Estonia to lease several strategic islands dominating both the Gulf of Finland and the Gulf of Riga and erect the necessary fortifications on them. With this difference: the action of socialist USSR has nothing in common with the imperialist exploitation which American business interests have practiced behind the cloak of the Monroe Doctrine.

MUTUAL ASSISTANCE PACTS

Mutual assistance pacts with Latvia and Lithuania followed in quick succession the pact with Estonia. Lithuania, unlike the other Baltic states, has never participated in any anti-Soviet attacks; in fact, it owes its existence to Soviet diplomatic intervention. The Soviet Union sealed its friendship with this nation by ceding it Vilna, its ancient capital, though the Lithuanians are by no means an ethnic majority in that city. The reciprocal trade clauses of the mutual assistance pacts, giving these Baltic countries the use of the Soviet Baltic-White Sea Canal and Murmansk Railway, were fully appreciated by them. As the president of Estonia declared, "The commercial treaty opens up the possibility for Estonia to develop its export trade with the West via the Soviet port of Murmansk." In view of the fact that the Atlantic exits of the Baltic are now at Germany's mercy, this is an important consideration for a Baltic country.

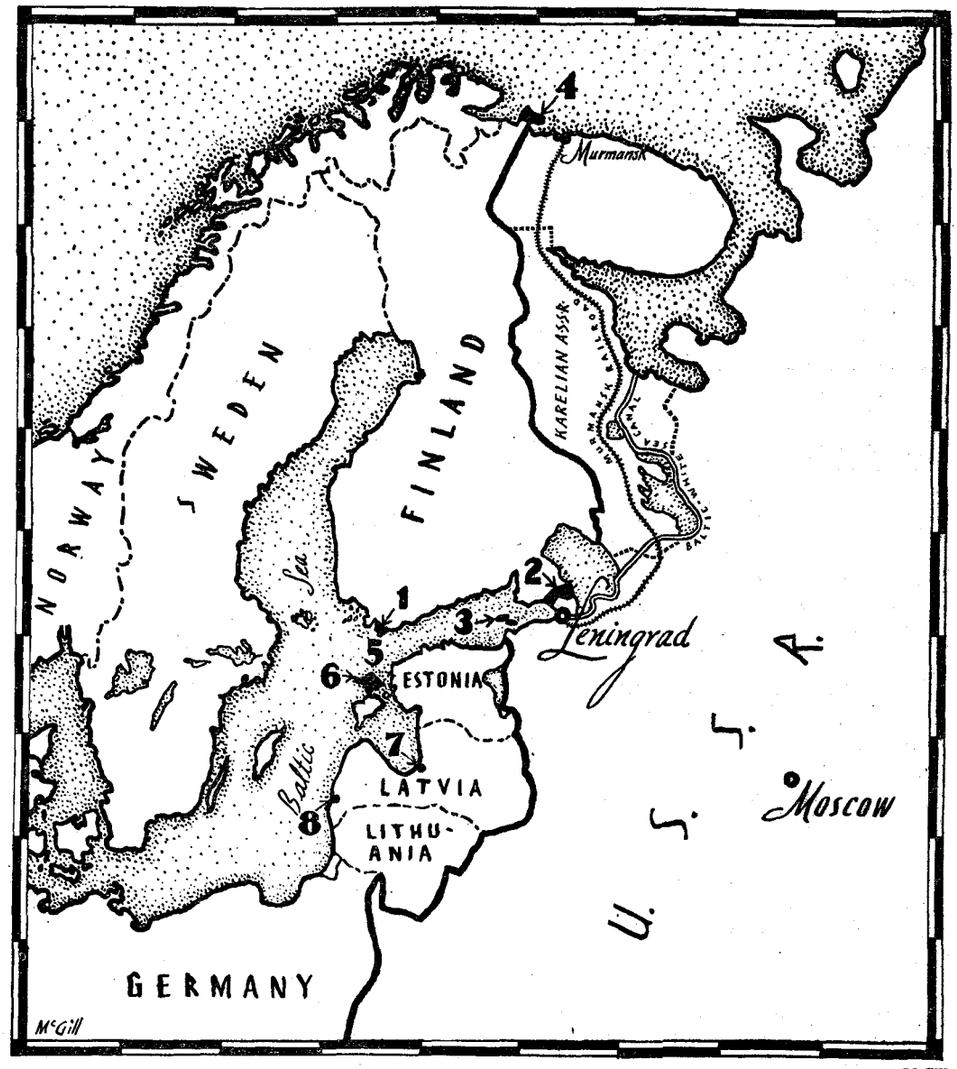
It remained now to complete the hastily constructed edifice of Soviet security in the Baltic by a mutual assistance pact with Finland. A glance at the map will show that this country, which occupies the entire northern shore of the Gulf of Finland, is in a position to scuttle any plan for ensuring Soviet security in that region. The Gulf of Finland, which is the Long Island Sound of Leningrad, is forty-five miles wide—too wide to be commanded by batteries from the newly acquired Soviet bases on the southern shore but not wide enough for the Soviet fleet to move from Kronstadt to its new ice-free bases in Estonia and Latvia without being exposed to the threat of submarines or mines from the nearby Finnish coast.

In other words, Finland was in a position to nullify all the other mutual assistance pacts that the Soviet Union has signed in the Baltic region. On the land side, Leningrad is only twenty miles from the present Finnish border and within the range of Finnish border batteries. (It was this threat to Petrograd from its "little" Baltic neighbor that prompted the Soviets, early in the civil war and intervention, to move their capital from Petrograd, the cradle of the revolution, to Moscow five hundred miles inland.) No major power in the world would have tolerated such a situation as long as the Soviet Union did. Even defeated Germany, by the most drastic terms of Versailles, was not placed in such a vulnerable position. As our diplomatic service noted in 1920, any Russian state, whether socialist, capitalist, or fascist, which intended to survive, would sooner or later have rectified this situation.

On October 7, in the spirit of the non-aggression treaty it had signed with Finland in 1935, the Soviet Union invited the Finnish government to discuss a peaceful solution of the problem. Finland showed its intentions by mobilizing first and sending a delegation later. It was in this spirit that the Finnish delegates conducted themselves in Moscow. In contrast the Soviet attitude was patiently conciliatory, though the USSR had the power to enforce any demands it chose on Finland. Early in the negotiations the Soviet Union waived its request for a mutual assistance pact such as it had signed with the other Baltic states. It pared down its terms to the very minimum necessary to the security of Leningrad, Murmansk, and the Baltic-White Sea Canal—the Panama Canal of the Soviet North, which gives its main Baltic fleet access to the Arctic and Atlantic Oceans and is the main artery to the new empire that socialist industry and daring have built on the Arctic shores.

BREAKING OFF NEGOTIATIONS

After a month of protracted negotiations, in which the Soviets did all the compromising and the Finnish delegates confined themselves to saying no, the talks broke down because



McGill

FOR CONTROL OF THE BALTIC. *The Soviet move to eliminate bases for attacks on Leningrad includes the securing of (1) a naval base on Hangoe Peninsula, which with the bases off the Estonian shore islands would effectively protect the Gulf of Finland; (2) removal of Finnish fortifications out of artillery range of Leningrad; (3) Soviet bases on Finnish islands in the Gulf, which with (5) Dagoe Island, (6) Baltiski, (7) Riga, and (8) Libau, already secured through agreement with the southern Baltic states, prevent any enemy navy from raiding the Soviets' northern industrial section about Leningrad; (4) the use of the Rybachi Peninsula, which forms an area of defense for Murmansk.*

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the Finnish delegates rejected every important Soviet demand. The Finnish delegation went home with the ambiguous statement that "circumstances" would dictate which country would reopen negotiations.

The bravado of the Finnish government did not fool Moscow. It was well aware that the diplomatic errand boys of General Mannerheim, who was unable to crush the revolutionary masses of his own little Finland without the aid of a whole German army corps, were not speaking only for themselves or even General Mannerheim. The fact that powerful forces were prompting "little Finland" offstage was exactly what had impelled the Soviet Union to look out for its security in the Gulf of Finland. The arrogance of the Finnish delegation convinced it that the danger was great and the time limited.

On November 24, not content with mobilizing an army within gunshot of Leningrad and flatly rejecting the minimum Soviet demands for security in the Gulf of Finland, Premier Cajander attacked the Soviet mutual assistance pacts with the other Baltic states. According to the New York *Times*, "Mr. Cajander expressed the deepest sympathy for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—three prosperous states which, after being independent nations, have suddenly become more or less dependent on Soviet Russia. Finland feels especially concerned for the fate of her dear sister nation Estonia."

Anyone who read this speech of Cajander's and realized its implications was prepared for startling developments. It was the most provocative speech ever delivered by the head of a peaceful little state that was advertising its willingness to go to any lengths to placate its powerful neighbor. The history of the next few weeks will reveal whether it was the outburst of a diplomatic pyromaniac or whether Mr. Cajander was already assured of enough backing to warrant his incendiary intervention in the good relations that had been established between the Soviet Union and Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Certainly, no statesman interested in an amicable solution of the critical relations between his country and the most powerful state in Europe would have made such a speech. It precipitated the storm of protest in the Soviet press that our own press found so inexplicable. In view of the fact that a previous Finnish premier had once publicly spoken of Finland's aspiration of uniting with "its dear sister nation Estonia" via Leningrad, the emphasis on Estonia was fully appreciated in the Soviet Union.

When this verbal salvo of Premier Cajander was followed two days later by an artillery salvo that killed or wounded thirteen Red Army men in the suburbs of Leningrad, it seemed incredible to many that little Finland would be mad enough to provoke a war with the Soviet Union. But Premier Cajander's speech of November 24 was a signal that the Finnish fascists who had tyrannized over the Finnish people for twenty-one years were willing to commit suicide rather than loosen their hold.

ALTER BRODY.

What Some Englishmen Say

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

INTERVIEWED by the London *Daily Mail*, George Bernard Shaw gave his opinion of the Finnish provocation in simple, clear words.

"No power can tolerate a frontier from which a town such as Leningrad could be shelled when she knows that the power on the other side of the frontier, however small and weak it may be, is being made by a foolish government to act in the interests of other great powers menacing her security," the playwright said.

"Finland would probably not have refused the Russian offer had she been acting on her own or in her own interests, but Russia believes that Finland thinks she has the backing of America and other Western powers."

Asked, "what conceivable defense can you make for this Soviet attack on Finland?" Shaw replied without hesitation: "I think the explanation is perfectly simple. Finland had been misled by a very foolish government. She should have accepted Russia's offer for the readjustment of territory. She should have been a sensible neighbor."

He said the Finns obviously believed that they had the support of the United States or they would not have taken the stand they did against a nation so much stronger.

"It is not at all a question of Russia, a great power, attempting to subject Finland, which is a small power," he said. "It is a question of Russia seeing to her own security. In Russia's view Finland can have no defensible objection to the carrying out of the exchange of territories for which Russia asked—unless she is allowing herself to be used by America or another Western Power.

"There can be no possibility of Finland planning any attack on Russia by herself, nor would any of the territories which Russia asked her to transfer enable her alone to defend herself effectively against Russia."

DEAN OF CANTERBURY

"IT would have been wisdom and kindness on our part if we had urged Finland to meet Russia's desire to remove the possibility of guns placed only twenty miles away from the heart of the area which possesses a quarter of her industrial activities.

"I deplore the situation which might have been wholly avoided, together with the war itself, had we not spurned Russian friendship and thwarted her efforts to make the League of Nations a success.

"Russia feared with reason a united Western attack. We through many years desired Germany to be the spearhead of that attack. Many influential persons still desire and work for it. Russia knows that."

H. G. WELLS

"THERE is much to be said for the preventive security measures being taken by the Soviet government."

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS, M.P.

"IN THE long run, I am convinced, it is of supreme importance to the workers all over the world that a strong and powerful Russia should survive.

"And I, for one, see no reason for blaming Russia, in a situation into which she has been driven by the capitalist governments of the world, for taking every step to strengthen her position.

"But for the German Nazi influence in Finland and the anti-Soviet feeling stirred up, it is probable that the exchange of territory would have been accepted and everyone would have commented on how sensible it was.

"Now, naturally, all of Russia's enemies talk about the sacredness of Finnish democracy, not because they love democracy but because they hate Russia."

CAPTAIN HARRY GRENFELL, M.P.

"THIS government [England] has already made secret commitments with Estonia and Finland for the use of the airdromes in those countries for British aircraft operating against the USSR . . . the commitments appear to have been in existence for at least ten years."—In *Labour Monthly*, June 1939.

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Dollar Diplomacy in Finland

U. S. State Department archives tell the story of Wall Street's intervention in 1918. Subsidizing the war against the Soviet Union. A key to present-day propaganda.

I HAVE just heard Lowell Thomas in his evening news broadcast call Finland "that brave little republic of the North." I only wish that Mr. Thomas' characterization of the Finnish government were true. If it were, there would be no need for the advance of the Red Army, Navy, and Air Fleet over Finnish borders.

But the so-called republic of Finland is a government built on the corpses of the Finnish working class and its Russian allies. It has been a breeding ground for plots against the Soviet Union for twenty years. The "republic of Finland" is a dictatorship of the White Guard General Field Marshal Carl Von Mannerheim—who is nothing more or less than an agent of Great Britain. Risto Ryti, head of the British buffer government and president of the Bank of Finland, was rewarded by the late King George V as "Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order."

I shall prove all this, not by guesswork, not by Communist "propaganda," but by the archives of the U. S. State Department, taken from the published private papers on foreign relations. You can check my information by visiting Kent Hall, Columbia University, and spending an afternoon, as I did, in the International Law Library where these volumes are on the open shelf.

Let's start at the very beginning of the story. The czar was deposed. Nicholas II, grand duke of Finland, was in theory the ruler of the long peninsula. Exhibit No. 1 is a cable from North Winship, American consul general at Petrograd, to Secretary of State Lansing, on June 2, 1917, when Kerensky was in power:

> The moderate socialists (Mensheviks) who are now taking part in the government of Russia take the attitude of the Temporary Government of Finland, whereas the irreconcilable Maximalist socialists (Bolsheviks) entirely favor immediate and complete Finnish independence.

Thus from the earliest days, before they had power, the party of Lenin and Stalin favored self-determination and independence for Finland. Mr. Winship continues with a report that Kerensky, in a visit to Helsingfors, threatened the Finns if they did not remain within the "federal" government of Russia, i.e., the imperial Russian government. President Tokoi of the Finnish Senate, leader of the Finnish Menshevik Party, indicated the Kerensky position by his statement that he wished to defer the question of Finnish relations to Russia until the general peace conference.

The Kerensky government was wobbling in July 1917 and the British and French, according to a report in the Helsingfors *Svenska-Tidnungen* on Sept. 15, 1917, had established an espionage center in Finland and were recruiting White Guards and Finnish bourgeoisie. This statement was made by Douglas Jenkins, temporarily detailed there by the State Department, in a cable to Washington.

Minister Morris, United States representative in Stockholm, plays a large role in the next period. On November 16, he reported "a great Socialist coup in Finland, with the help of Russian soldiers. There are no disturbances, but a general strike has spread to the railways." Mr. Morris' detailed report went on to say that the entire Finnish working class, with the exception of a few "moderates," had gone over to the Socialist coalition. The peasants were divided and the bourgeoisie was reconciled to its fate. This report was further confirmed by Mr. Morris on November 17, but it was not until December 4 that Thornwell Haynes, consul at Helsingfors and the only American representative in Finland, cabled that the revolutionary Socialists had consolidated their position. They had proclaimed independence, and were asking the great United States, that bulwark of freedom and democracy, to recognize the infant republic and to send much-needed food. On December 14, Ambassador Francis, formerly accredited to the imperial Russian government and later to the Kerensky government, repeated this request.

Lansing and Wilson wavered. On December 15 they knew what to do. Mr. Morris cabled Lansing from Stockholm: "The attitude of the British government in recognizing the independence of Finland is that as soon as a properly constituted Russian government recognizes the independence of Finland, the British government is prepared to do the same." Note the words "properly constituted Russian government." This means a capitalist government without Bolshevik participation, for Britain was never prepared to recognize a revolutionary Finnish government. Messrs. Lansing and Wilson, having received their cue, now adopted the same line.

Meantime the Finnish bourgeoisie began to seek allies. Mr. Morris cabled on Dec. 21, 1917, that they were sending a delegation to Sweden to ask for aid in expelling "the Russians." Other delegations were sent to Berlin, London, and Washington, to lay the basis for the conspiracy to make Finland a base for attacks on the Soviets and for Allied intervention. During the next weeks the internal struggle between Finnish Mensheviks and Bolsheviks came to a head. On Jan. 28, 1918, the Bolsheviks expelled the reactionary Senate from Helsingfors and proceeded to consolidate their rule. Now that power had passed from the Mensheviks, the British became alarmed. On Jan. 30, 1918, Mr. Morris cabled that "the British minister [to Sweden] has telegraphed to his government recommending that Sweden be encouraged to help Finland if necessary." If you read the cable again you can see between the lines what it really meant: that Sweden should permit her territory to be used as a base to overthrow working class rule in Finland.

A few days later, Mr. Haynes cabled a Bolshevik appeal for foodstuffs to be sent to Finland. In this cable he clearly revealed the

Finland's Bagholders

PEOPLE who wonder who's backing Finland ought to know that the American banking market has been the main source of Finnish loans since the turn of the century. According to Cleona Lewis, in *America's Stake in International Investments,* Brookings Institution, 1938, Finland floated $53,000,000 worth of bonds in all markets from 1897 to 1935. Of this amount, $42,000,000 was absorbed in the United States. This is exclusive of the so-called Finnish war debt, which was refunded by special arrangement early in the twenties, in which Mr. Risto Ryti, and the present ambassador to the United States, Hjalmar Procope, took part. The debt comes to $8,400,000 and Finland has been paying interest on it amounting to about **$234,000 a year.**

American oil companies control the petroleum distribution agencies in the key Finnish towns. The International Nickel Co. owns the Petsamo nickel works, and Canadian, British, and American capital dominate the International Nickel Co.

After the World War, the leaders of Finnish economy, notably such men as Ryti, Kallio, Procope, Tanner, and others completely reorientated Finnish economic life, tying it to the fortunes of Western imperialism. In 1938, Great Britain took 45 percent of all Finland's exports. Next comes Germany, then the United States and Sweden. In 1937, the Soviet Union occupied fourteenth place in Finnish imports, and seventeenth place in its exports. Finland sells mostly lumber, paper, and farm products. The outbreak of the imperialist war hit her hard. Markets in England were disrupted by that same "cannon versus butter" policy which is crippling the Scandinavian countries and the American farmers. Germany also placed Finnish exports to the Allies on the contraband lists, producing a severe drop in Finland's customs receipts and in the welfare of her agricultural population.

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American State Department's position. He called the Bolsheviks the "usurping socialist government," and said, "America has not food to be wasted in civil war so that it is impossible to discuss anything officially." In other words, let the damned Reds starve.

By February 7, the intervention conspiracy was in full bloom. Suddenly, according to a Morris cable, "White Guards" appeared at the frontier station of Torrea on the Swedish border, disarmed "Russian" soldiers, and took one hundred prisoners, sixty others escaping to Sweden and fifty being killed. "White Guards numbering several thousand arrived secretly, surprising the Red Guard. All over northern Finland suddenly well armed and equipped White Guards have appeared." These well armed and equipped counter-revolutionists came, of course, from Sweden; they were under the command of General Mannerheim.

Who is Mannerheim? His name appeared in the news dispatches on Nov. 26, 1939, when Finnish artillery shots killed Red Army soldiers on the Soviet border and precipitated the crisis. These shots were the continuation of the long-suspended war of intervention against the Soviet Union, for Mannerheim is the last of the notorious White Guard officers who were the front for Allied attempts to overthrow Soviet socialism. He was a comrade in arms of the murderous Semianov, of the notorious Kolchak, of the terrorist Denikin, and the futile Yudenitch. Mannerheim is the last of the czarists.

Mr. Morris first mentions him in a cable of Feb. 12, 1918. It says in part:

> Arms are, of course, being smuggled across from here [Sweden], and a certain number of officers have gone over, but General Mannerheim will require time to organize his forces, and he has not yet taken Tammerfors. He suggests that we do not recognize the Finnish government now because the Reds hold power. Formerly he pleaded for recognition. He urges that food be sent to the territories liberated by the Whites.

Mannerheim is thus revealed as an agent of the Swedes and of the defeated Finnish bourgeoisie, and also as the confidant of the American and other Allied diplomats.

Sweden moved on Feb. 20, 1918, according to Morris, when it sent arms to the Aland Islands, which command the entrance from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Baltic Sea. Later Sweden sent a small force with artillery and machine guns, to make sure that the Bolsheviks would not seize this strategic point.

On Feb. 19, 1918, Ambassador Francis, from Petrograd, confirmed this situation:

> White Guards, comprising an army of patriots [sic] totaling fifty thousand well drilled and disciplined men under the command of Mannerheim, a Russian-Finnish general distinguished in the present and the Russo-Japanese wars, who is virtual dictator, is in absolute control of all Finland north of the line Bjorneborg-Tammerfors-Viborg. This force includes many Russian generals, about sixty volunteer Swedish officers, and only six volunteer Germans.

This force was backed by the Allies. However, the Germans prepared to step in and protect their interests. Mr. Morris cabled on February 22:

> Reports from Haparanda are to the effect that the Germans are taking measures for the transport of troops to southwestern Finland, charged with clearing the northwestern coast and the east central part of the country of Red Guardists, thus putting the Red troops between two fires.

Mr. Morris then states that the arrival of Finnish infantry from Germany had strengthened the confidence of the Whites. But it is absurd to believe that the so-called Finnish infantry was other than German regular troops withdrawn from the Eastern Front.

Soon the two forces, ostensibly at war elsewhere, agreed to divide their task. Mr. Haynes cabled on March 11, "According to arrangements with the White Guards, the Germans are landing at Hangoe to take Helsingfors and to drive the Reds from Finland."

Mannerheim now drove on; on March 30, according to Morris, he captured Tammerfors. "He captured a great number of prisoners and other spoils. Fire broke out in one part of the city. The losses of the Red Guards were very heavy."

On April 1, Mr. Morris made a general report in the course of which he asserted with complete unneutrality that "The Whites must win!"

> With the Whites [Morris wrote] are some Germans but many Finns who have served as much as two years in the German army and who are, so far as we are concerned, German. The White officers are German Jaegers who have recently returned from the German army. They wear a distinctive uniform and very much resemble Germans in manner and deportment.

Mr. Morris must have been suffering from astigmatism, for the men he describes were, of course, not Finns at all, but Germans.

Mannerheim had bet on the Allies to win the World War. But he kept a weather eye open to the activities of Count von der Goltz, the commander of the German invading forces. Count von der Goltz captured Helsingfors, according to Mr. Morris in a cable dated April 16, 1918. The city was "stormed after three days of desperate fighting. Several thousand persons and great quantities of booty captured, the enemy offering desperate resistance. White prisoners were released." This was the Gethsemane of the Finnish working class. Its armies were routed by interventionists, its leaders had either fled to the Soviet Union or were dead, and thousands were massacred or imprisoned. Now the Germans were in possession of the capital city and the Germans were at war with the British. Yet on April 19, six days later, the British recognized the Finnish government!

Mannerheim wavered. This time, in an effort to win German support, he issued a statement. It was published in Swedish papers and was so extraordinary that Secretary of State Lansing cabled for verification. Here it is:

> The German victorious and mighty army landed in Finland to help against the infamous Bolsheviks and to help the friendship the Finnish people have always had for the noble kaiser and the mighty

Reports Received on Attacks

Details of the air attacks on Helsinki were contained in reports received by the State Department from Minister Schoenfeld.

A plane that flew over the Finnish capital at 9:20 A. M. dropped five bombs on the Malmi Airfield, Mr. Schoenfeld said. It was a Soviet two-motored plane and flew at low altitude. It was fired on by anti-aircraft artillery and departed after fifteen minutes. An hour after the first attack, nine Soviet light bombers attacked fortresses in the bay of Helsinkin and, after being met by anti-aircraft fire, flew off at 10:25 o'clock.

At 3 P. M. there was an air raid on Helsinkin by fifteen planes, the reports continued. The planes flew into the immediate vicinity of the American Legation offices and there were some buildings burning within three blocks of the legation.

Mr. Schoenfeld reported at 5 P. M., Finnish time, that he had opened an emergency office at the Bagrankulla Hotel, about ten miles from Helsinki, and that the personnel of the legation was being evacuated to various places in that vicinity. He planned to return to Helsinki Friday morning.

So far as he was aware, no Americans had been injured. There were about 320 Americans in the Finnish capital, at last reports.

The invasion brought many for-

No Civilian Bombings

THE above story appeared in the first edition of the New York *Times* of December 1, hidden away at the bottom of page 11. *It was suppressed in all later editions.* It tells the true story of the bombing of Helsinki by Soviet planes as reported to the American State Department by its minister to Finland. Minister Schoenfeld confirmed the statement of Soviet Premier Molotov that there was no bombing of civilians or of residential districts. The bombs were directed at an airfield and at fortresses.

Helsinki, it should be remembered, is a fortified city and its airdromes and fortresses are a legitimate target of military operations whether by land, sea, or air. In the bombing of military objectives from the air it is well known that buildings in immediately surrounding areas may also be hit. But this is quite different from the bombing of unfortified towns and the wanton slaughter of civilians such as the Nazis and Italians carried through in Spain, the Italians in Ethiopia, the Japanese in China, and the British in India. The Roosevelt administration, which kept silent concerning these genuine outrages, is now seeking to blame the Soviet Union for non-existent atrocities. Even the figures issued by the Finnish government showing sixty-five killed in Helsinki and twenty in four other cities indicate that the bombing was confined to military objectives. Compare this with the two-day bombing of Barcelona in March 1938 in which fifteen hundred were killed in those two days.

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German people. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with the great German army, the Finnish army should be imbued with the discipline that has brought that army from victory to victory. I greet the brave German troops and hope that every Finn will realize the great sacrifice of the noble German people, who are helping them in an hour when every man is needed on the Western Front.

Morris next reported on April 26 that the White Guards, with British backing, were in power while "the Germans are successfully quelling the Red Guard." The following day he told Lansing that yes, incredible as it seemed, Mannerheim was playing a double game. He had actually heiled the kaiser while at the head of an army equipped by Allied money!

For a few weeks the Whites, Germans, and their cohorts proceeded to exterminate the Reds, especially the Russian Red Guards who had assisted the Finnish workers and peasants. On May 17 Haynes cabled from Helsingfors that "The prime cause of the revolution was the hopeless state of the food question and the distrust of the laboring class against the bourgeoisie for not providing either food from Russia or the United States." He added that the entire Socialist press was suppressed. Meantime the Germans had indicated they had no use for Mannerheim, who was forced to resign. He went to Stockholm and soon the scene was set for the next act.

In Stockholm Mannerheim sought Allied support. Morris, in a confidential memorandum to Assistant Secretary of State Frank L. Polk, Morgan representative in the U. S. State Department, wrote:

Mannerheim is in Stockholm. He has severed his connection with the Provisional Government of Finland. In the future it may be well to bear this in mind should some opportune time come in which General Mannerheim may be of service to us.

Pending developments in the World War, Mannerheim remained in Sweden, taking one trip to Finland to settle his affairs. On July 11 Morris cabled:

I have had several conferences with General Mannerheim, Finnish patriot and chief commander of the army in Finland and an important man in Finland. Prior to taking command of the army in Finland he was a general in the Russian army. Regarding intervention in Russia, General Mannerheim felt that this was the correct thing to do and I am quoting his views because he is thought of in Russia not only as a great soldier but as a man whose judgment on questions has been found good.

Lansing took the tip and acknowledged the report. But difficulties lay in the path of intervention. Haynes reported that "the Finnish people who a few weeks ago hated the Bolsheviks have been blinded . . . into loving them." He gave the real reason unconsciously in a long report in which he said, "75,000 idle and starving Red prisoners, composed entirely of the working class, have been withdrawn from production and their loss has accentuated the famine." The picture is nearly complete. Mannerheim, the great patriot, with German aid had slaughtered the Bolsheviks and aided in the imprisonment of the entire industrial working class of his native land. His day was soon to come. The Germans lost the war. Their troops were being withdrawn as early as October 1918.

The People's Government

FOLLOWING are the nine major points in the platform of the People's Government of Democratic Finland:

1. Creation of a People's Army of Finland.
2. Institution of state control over large private banks and large industrial enterprises and application of measures assisting medium and small enterprises.
3. Application of measures for complete elimination of unemployment.
4. Reduction of the working day to eight hours, provision for two weeks' summer vacations for workers and reduction of house rents for workers and employees.
5. Confiscation of lands belonging to big landowners, without touching lands and properties of farmers, and transfer of confiscated land to farmers having no land or possessing small allotments.
6. Exemption of farmers from payment of tax arrears.
7. State assistance in every form for improvement of the farms of poor farmers, in the first place by allotting to them additional land, pastures, and, when possible, also forests for their domestic needs, from lands confiscated from large landowners.
8. Democratization of state organization, administration and courts.
9. Increase of state subsidies for cultural needs and reorganization of schools; to ensure the possibility of attendance at schools to children of workers and other needy people, also solicitude in every form for development of public education, science, literature, and arts in a progressive spirit.

Haynes called Lansing's attention to Mannerheim in a cable on November 12, one day after the Armistice. "I urge the recognition of Mannerheim as Regent," he said. This was an absurdity, of course. The last Finnish king had ruled in 1772. The Germans had attempted to foist a German princeling on the Finns as king in the summer of 1918, but were unable to get support for their plan. Now an American consul came forward with the proposal to make the bloodthirsty but "trustworthy" Mannerheim regent. Haynes continued: "Mannerheim says the Finns will be able to defend the eastern frontier against Bolshevikism." In the meantime, Mannerheim was off to London to ask "for Allied consent that German troops remain in Finland, to protect the country against Bolshevikism." But Haynes thought this a "sinister hope of the monarchists to protect themselves with German bayonets, a foolish hope because the German forces are becoming disaffected and may join the Bolsheviks."

A few months later, Mannerheim was able to return to Finland, secure in the knowledge that he had Allied support in his campaign to dominate Finland and to use it as a base against the Soviets. The war proceeded to its end. The Allies were victors. Mannerheim, on November 16, five days after the Armistice, was "elected" provisional president of Finland. On November 22 the American government played a card. Mr. Polk notified Haynes that five thousand tons of food were on their way to Mannerheim.

That winter Mannerheim consolidated his rule—by terror. Because of the intervention and the withholding of food, conditions in Soviet territory were frightful. The Red Cross and the Herbert Hoover food relief commission withheld food from Red territories. On May 3, 1919, the Finnish charge d'affaires in Stockholm called on Mr. Morris and warned the United States not to send food to territories held by the Reds, "pending a military decision." The United States, recognizing the importance of Finland, dispatched a new representative to that country, one Robert W. Imrie, who became vice-consul at Viborg. He let the cat out of the bag when he said that Mannerheim's government was:

. . . willing, even eager, to launch the attack against Petrograd. Every indication points to this. From sources so high they can almost be considered official, I have been informed that the Finnish government only waits the sanction of the Allied governments to launch the attack. An agreement has been reached with the Russian Whites under General Yudenitch, and the Finns are ready to attack.

Now from President Wilson himself, head of the American Peace Mission at Versailles, came permission by our democratic government to launch the attack. A cable from the Mission dated July 16, 1919, states: "The Allies have no objection if the government of General Mannerheim followed up the action of Kolchak against Petrograd."

Somewhat later, on Oct. 22, 1919, Mr. Wilson went much further in establishing the anti-Soviet, pro-White position of the American government. He issued a statement in which he said that "economic relief . . . is the most effective means of limiting the spread of Bolshevism and of protecting thereby the government of the United States from the dangers of subversive propaganda."

But months before this general policy was formulated, action was taken to support the counter-revolutionary Whites, utilizing Finland and the other Baltic states as a base. The British sent supplies to Yudenitch, who also appealed to the United States for help. Lansing cabled Imrie suggesting that Yudenitch get ammunition and food from the supplies being routed to Admiral Kolchak in Siberia. This was impossible, of course, so Herbert Hoover came to the aid of Mannerheim and Yudenitch, using foodstuffs stored at Reval and Viborg—supposedly for the relief of starving Russian children—for the army of intervention then being assembled.

Now as to Britain's role. This becomes clearer in a very confidential memorandum from Imrie to Lansing which reads:

I am confidentially informed through the Russian General Staff (White Guard) that the recent loan

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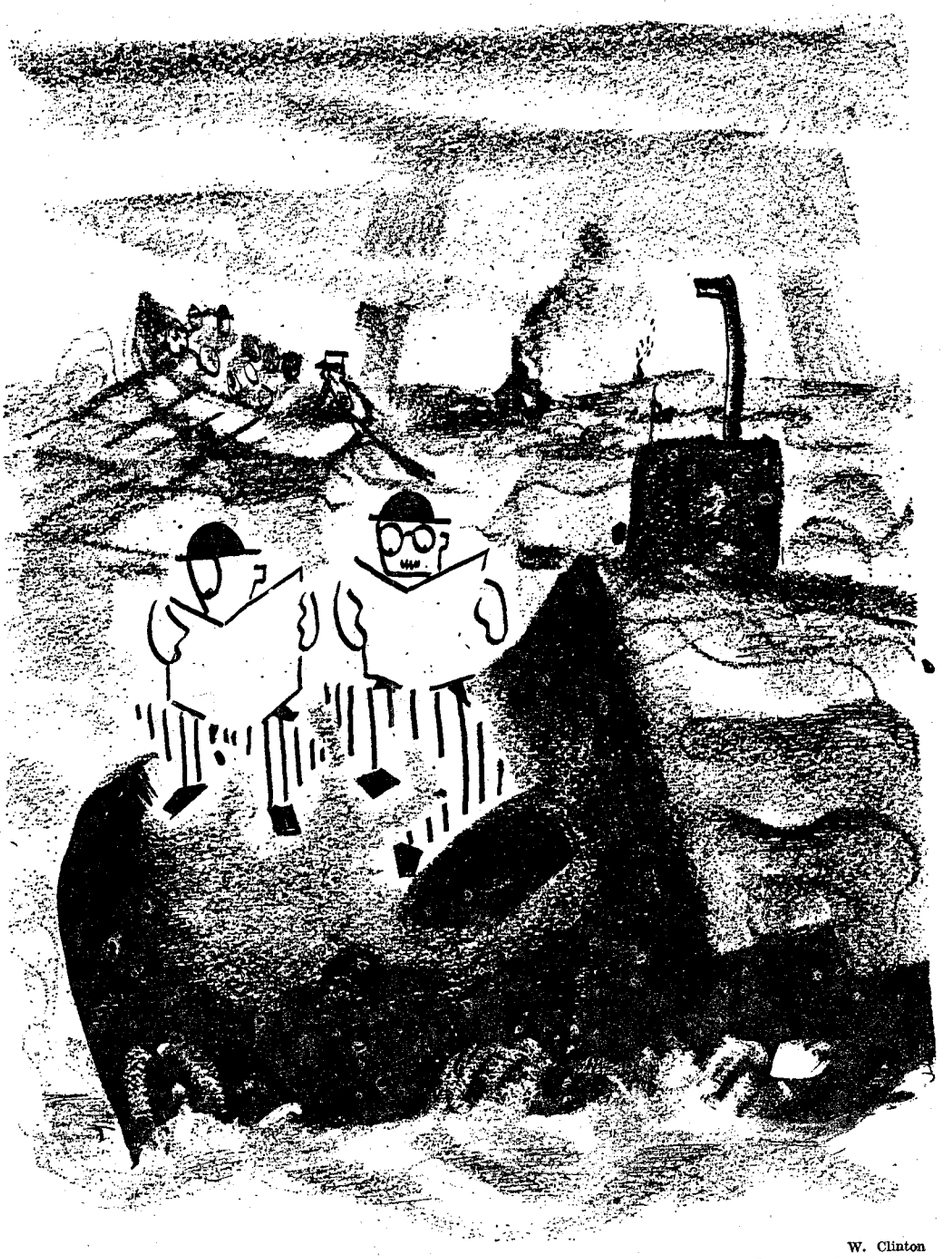
of £6,000,000 by the British to the Finnish government had as a condition that Finland should mobilize and start an offensive with Petrograd as the objective, the capitulation to be effected by October 1. The present program calls for an offensive against Petrograd by the Russians and Estonians in which the Finns will cooperate by a separate drive from the Byelostrov front.

And so the intervention started. It is delightful to read how the pro-White American diplomats were fooled. With the British fleet cooperating in the Gulf of Finland, troops were landed near the fort of Krasnaya on Oct. 16, 1919. Wild cables from Haynes and Imrie informed Washington of the advance of the Whites to Petrograd, the capture of Kronstadt and of the city itself. Complete plans were made for the occupation. Hoover foodstuffs were to be used to feed the starving Petrograd populace. Joy reigned until it was discovered that the reports were false, that Yudenitch was in retreat, that he was obliged to stumble over the Estonian border where his forces were disarmed, with the consequence that shortly the Estonians, Letts, and Lithuanians sued for peace with the ever more successful Soviet regime.

But Mannerheim was still fighting for the foreign imperialists. That summer he raised a volunteer force which failed in an attempt to seize Soviet Karelia. Mannerheim then went to Paris where he tried to interest Clemenceau in a new adventure with volunteer forces. He even wrote, according to a cable from Haynes:

. . . an open letter from Paris to President Stahlberg [subsequently elected head of the Finnish government] urging intervention. He asks that this letter be given widest possible publicity in the United States, as well as Mannerheim's report that Clemenceau had told him the Aland Islands would go to Finland if help was rendered Yudenitch.



W. Clinton

"Lloyds of London says the Moscow menace means the end of civilization as we have known it."

But the game was up. Yudenitch was gone. Mannerheim retired to Finland and was made field marshal of the Finnish Army. The radical working class had been destroyed. Britain was his undying friend.

It is a fact bitterly hard for the honest American to understand, that his own government and press have deceived him through the years as to the real character of the Finnish government. But the American government has also concealed its own policy from the American people. On January 2, 1920, when the blood of Finnish workers had long since soaked into Finland's soil, when the Soviets were painfully overcoming intervention against them, the Finnish minister in Washington approached Breckenridge Long, our assistant secretary of state, advising him that a conference was being held in Helsingfors of the representatives of the Finnish, Polish, Lithuanian, and Estonian governments to consider "their mutual interests." The minister inquired what the American attitude would be, and whether the American government would support the Finnish position. To which Breckenridge Long replied:

I told him that it was contrary to our policy to give blanket instructions to our representatives abroad to cooperate with the representatives of other governments, but that I would consider what might be done, and that if we found it possible we would send instructions, and that he might feel that the government of the United States viewed sympathetically any action which the government of Finland might take which would react to strengthening that government, and which might also act as a barrier against the spread of Bolshevism.

Mannerheim remained behind the scenes while a pseudo-democratic but anti-Soviet so-called republic was erected. He waited his day. He hoped that Chamberlain would push Hitler up and up the Baltic to the Gulf of Finland. Then the old intervention game would begin anew, with Finland as the base.

But the new and powerful Soviet state was too wise. Utilizing the contradictions of imperialism, a non-aggression treaty was signed between Germany and the USSR. Moving swiftly, the Soviet Union protected its borders by liberating the White Russians and Ukrainians of the former Western Poland. Peace was guaranteed to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania through mutual assistance pacts, and the advance of Soviet military and naval units to new and logical defensive positions.

Only Finland remained obdurate. Once more the reactionary Finnish ruling class, with the same Baron Mannerheim in command of their troops, look to foreign imperialism, particularly Britain and the United States for aid. Today Sumner Welles plays the role of Polk, Cordell Hull the role of Robert Lansing, and over in the Baltic other American diplomats continue the machinations of the Morrises, Hayneses, and Imries.

But today the Soviet Union moves resolutely on, to protect the socialist state against the petty plotters, the assassins and White Guardists who would turn back the clock of history.

JAMES MORISON.

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Ganging Up on the NLRB

From three sides, the enemies of the Wagner act close in to kill labor's rights to organize.

Washington.

AVOIDING publicity for the present, the Smith committee set up by Congress to "investigate" the National Labor Relations Board is quietly preparing the ground for reaction's attack on workers' rights and civil liberties when Congress meets in January. At the moment its tactics differ from those of the Diesmen but its purpose and the purpose of those behind it are the same. The fanfare and acres of newspaper space will come in due time. Right now Rep. Howard Smith and the shrewd counsel for the committee prefer to work without preview buildup.

However, enough is known of their methods to enable one to judge pretty accurately the kind of investigation this will be. The committee has sent long questionnaires to all chiefs of police in industrial cities, with special emphasis on "violence." It is also querying employers, whose views on the Wagner act's contribution to industrial peace will be equally helpful.

Just to be impartial, the committee has questioned unions too, asking for detailed analyses of every case the unions have taken to the NLRB. For the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, to name one, this list will run into hundreds. Obviously the committee does not intend to sift the unions' replies: sheer volume would make this physically impossible. Just as obviously, the committee will give detailed attention to disgruntled craft union elements in the AFL leadership who have pressed for crippling amendments to the act. Representative Smith voted against the act when it was passed in 1935. House liberals have charged him with a consistent record of voting against labor and social legislation throughout his long congressional career.

DRIVE AGAINST THE WAGNER ACT

The reactionary drive to amend the Wagner act almost succeeded last year. If it had not been for the brilliant defense put up by the CIO and the open revolt among the membership of the AFL, the combination of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and die-hard AFL top leaders would have destroyed the act then. The attack was beaten back, and the session closed with hearings on proposed amendments unfinished. These amendments, particularly those sponsored by William Green, would have made the act a ball and chain for the workers in both the CIO and AFL.

But reaction, while halted in its direct efforts to emasculate the act, did succeed in getting the Smith committee appointed and in obtaining a substantial toehold on the Labor Board that administers the act. The toehold came in the appointment of William Leiserson to the three-man board. Leiserson replaced Donald Wakefield Smith, who failed of reappointment after the AFL, mistaking him for liberal Edwin S. Smith, demanded his scalp. Since his appointment Leiserson has acted as an astute promoter of the objectives of the National Association of Manufacturers and its allies among the AFL top leadership. On every possible occasion he has used his vote and his influence to distort the Wagner act in the manner devoutly wished for by the tories.

Responsible top officers of the CIO, men who don't attack a leading New Deal agency without reason, spent half a day at the CIO's San Francisco convention in sharp and exhaustive criticism of the NLRB for its recent decisions—all entered since the Leiserson appointment. They cited case after case where CIO unions with contracts of years' standing were forced to contest utterly unnecessary elections on the say-so of a splinter AFL craft group. They cited case after case of recent board refusals to give the CIO employer-wide certification, though there were no other effective unions in the field. They established the fact that these things were being done under Leiserson's direction, for the purpose of sabotaging the act and harassing the progressive labor movement.

To complicate the defense of the act by sabotage on the part of the board administering it really serves the same purpose that the Smith committee and the proposed amendments were meant to serve. It tends to discredit the act in the public mind, to pervert its original purpose, and to bring nearer the time when it can be effectively mangled or repealed.

LABOR-BAITING

The anti-Wagner-act forces on the board and in Congress haven't overlooked the device of baiting progressives—a popular tactic in Washington circles these days. The Smith committee conducted an open terrorization campaign against the employees of the board when it seized the records of their union, refusing to allow union officers access to them—all in the best Dies manner. Union books were denied to financial officers, until the union retained outside legal talent of its own. The Smith committee hearings, when they come, are expected to follow the model created by Dies.

The NAM agents on the board itself have been equally active in their own way. Board employees who fail to be biased *against* the CIO—the former charge of pro-CIO leanings is no longer felt necessary—are being intimidated. A number of such men have already been fired, and more are scheduled to go. These tactics went so far at one point as to include a miniature Dies committee setup in the board itself, under which employees were to be quizzed on their organizational connections, the way they spent their spare time, etc. This was stopped by the courageous union members among the board's personnel.

The attack on the Wagner act is a triple one, from the Smith committee, from Congress, and from the activities of Leiserson and like-minded board officials. Those forces that are seeking to profit from the war and to gear the country's entire economy to the Allied cause will probably increase the pressure against the law which is such an important obstacle to the destruction of labor's rights. This makes a united labor movement—united along the constructive lines repeatedly proposed by the CIO—all the more imperative.

PAUL G. MCMANUS.

Today's Stock Quotations

Captains of industry will salute the dead,
Will lay the wreaths,
pin the medals,
Orate the battle scenes,
the mud
The cannonade,
Unceasing clatter of machine gun fire.
They will command the tired heroes
To be heroes once again.
They will insist that the scattered limbs
After the artillery scored a direct hit,
Understood the need.
They will praise their profitable
democracy
Saved not once, but every year.

The press takes note.

The child's blonde hair ruffles in the
wind
Above the cool efficient burial place
Above the tombs,
mute city of young dead,
Above the catacombs tier on tier
Where the corpse gives life to the worm.

Captains of industry recall the dead
Rush vigorously from office to rostrum
Are interviewed
photographed
Make love to the first, second, and third
generation.

Each man does his bit.
Give credit where credit is due.
Applaud
Bravo! BRAVO!
HURRAY! HURRAY!
And down below
The dead men keep their poker face.

RAPHAEL HAYES.

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Challenge from 'Frisco

Mike Quin's anti-war pamphlet sweeps the country.

A THREE-CENT pamphlet, no bigger than a man's hand, has appeared on the Western horizon, and it is already roaring through the streets of America. The author broadcasts over the radio for the CIO in San Francisco and in five weeks twelve thousand people have written in for copies of *The Yanks Are NOT Coming!* Sixty thousand copies, five editions, have been sold in every state of the union, and the presses are groaning under new orders. Preachers are buying it for their congregations, teachers for their schools, and organizations marked down as reactionary are ordering bundles.

Mike Quin's pamphlet is saying it for America: "The Yanks Are NOT Coming!" The author sat down innocently to write a pamphlet on the war for San Francisco maritime workers. But his salty waterfront language is being read in convents as the remarkable demonstration of America's stubborn will to smack down Wall Street and Wall Street's war gathers momentum. Stickers with the slogan are being slipped inside the pamphlet; there will be lapel buttons, reading, "NOT ME, BROTHER!"; stamps will be ready for Christmas mail, and window cards will blossom in the empty storerooms of the nation. A standard resolution form, written in smack-em-down American language, is offered to organizations with a notation: "Copies to: The President and members of Congress, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Bankers Association, and the New York Stock Exchange, with street addresses."

Says Mike Quin's pamphlet:

> Everybody senses how the American people feel about this thing. Everybody is conscious of it. Those who realize it best are the very men who will try to get us into it. Don't expect them to raise any slogan about getting us into war. They don't dare. They'll take a roundabout way and march us in under slogans of keeping us out. Some of the biggest industrialists and most anti-labor men in the nation are running around with olive branches in their teeth, cooing like doves. They hope this will placate the populace and influence them to leave everything to the big shots. Then someday they expect to stand up before us weeping and gulping with the news, "We tried—God, how we tried—but it was no use. Now we're in it."
>
> None of us want to go to war. Then why in the hell should we? Are we Americans or are we chimpanzees, or what? No one wants any part of the war, yet we are convinced we have no power to keep out. It will be a lot easier to put up a stiff fight to keep out than it would be to fight in it.

This is the fighting temper of Mike Quin's slambang pamphlet. Our readers may get *The Yanks Are NOT Coming!* at 3 cents a copy from the *CIO Reporter,* 593 Market St., San Francisco. If you send them the addresses of your friends they will mail it directly to them.

THE YANKS ARE NOT COMING
WAR
KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR COMMITTEE
District Council No. 2, Maritime Federation of the Pacific
Price 3
LABOR ON THE AIR
CIO
NEWS REPORTER
6:30 to 6:45 p. m.
MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY
TUNE IN ON THE TRUTH
THE YANKS are NOT COMING!
Signed: Mr. and Mrs. America
Issued by Keep America Out of War Committee, D. C. No. 2 Maritime Federation, 7 Clay St., San Francisco, YUkon 0690

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(Continued from page 11)

the government itself is taking to assist the Allies and prepare the American people for war. The provocations against the Soviet Union are of one piece with the violations of the Neutrality Acts, the encouragement to the Dies committee, the projected slash in WPA, the boosting of the arms budget, the prosecution of Earl Browder. This is the method behind the anti-Soviet madness. This is the new ventriloquism which makes Franklin D. Roosevelt the Charlie McCarthy to Herbert Hoover's Edgar Bergen.

It will fail, as it must, if the American people are to stay out of this, or any similar, war. It will fail, as it must, as the American people perceive that their interests are consonant with the interests of the Soviet people, the Finnish people, all peoples. It will fail, as it must, if in the United States there is to be preserved the opportunity to work and build for a democratic solution of the problems that lie heavy about us.

Amid Plenty—Hunger

OUT of Ohio, one of the country's richest farming and industrial states, there came shocking front page news this week: "CLEVELAND SEES THEM STARVING" . . . "TOLEDO STRUGGLES TO FEED ITS NEEDY BY CIVIC EFFORTS"—headlines of the Hoover days. The situation is as desperate for the unemployed as those first years of the depression that forced the plight of the starving upon the attention of the nation in the 1931 National Hunger March to Washington.

On November 28 Mayor Burton of Cleveland stopped food orders for eight thousand single persons and four thousand childless couples. The doors of welfare agencies slammed shut in the faces of lines of relief clients clamoring for something to eat. Others of the city's 24,000 relief cases tried to adjust their appetites to limited food orders doled out in stagger fashion. As Cleveland CIO officials and the Workers Alliance demanded aid for the needy, Mayor Burton, Republican, passed the buck to his political bedfellow, Governor Bricker: "The relief crisis can be alleviated if Governor Bricker will call a special session of the Legislature to appropriate additional funds." "I won't," said the governor, proud of his successful economy budget, anxious to use it as a stepping stone to the presidential nomination in 1940.

In Toledo, of the 41,000 on relief only the very old, the sick, and the children have been fed in the last six weeks, the worst crisis in the city's history. But business in Toledo isn't bad. It's good in Cleveland too. "The city's business is humming along at 1929 levels," reported a New York *Times* man this week. That's the picture throughout the country: on one side, the more than ten million unemployed; on the other, production at a peak level. So glaring is the contradiction, the press can no longer blink at it.

But Washington can and is shutting its eyes and its treasury to the hungry people of the Clevelands and Toledos over the country. The WPA administrator, Colonel Harrington, announced on December 1 that no deficiency appropriation would be sought from Congress in January. Relief cuts to keep within the meager WPA budget sponsored by the Woodrumites last session will begin in March. This in the face of the colonel's own previous statement that at least one million heads of needy families are eligible for WPA, and that there is little prospect of any reduction in relief rolls as a result of the European war.

From the reports of Washington columnists and from the White House's silence it is plain that government expenditures on armaments at the expense of the unemployed will be the policy of the Roosevelt administration.

When Congress meets in a few weeks it will be the job of the American people to turn this policy upside down. The Workers Alliance and the trade unions are heading the fight for adequate relief funds, rescinding of WPA wage cuts, and repeal of the eighteen-month clause, that has forced hundreds of thousands of needy workers off the rolls of WPA.

Who Runs Frank Murphy?

FRANK MURPHY may be running the Department of Justice, but it looks more and more as if J. Edgar Hoover is running Frank Murphy. Last week Murphy talked to the press. He informed the newspapermen that the Justice Department is preparing to go before grand juries in various cities and demand action against illegal activities of "foreign agents" on the basis of material gathered by Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation. Murphy made it clear that he had in mind the Communist Party. But perish the thought that the Communists are to be persecuted for their political ideas. Oh, no, Murphy assured his listeners, it is all a question of violations of the passport regulations, the law requiring foreign agents to register, and the income tax laws. It is this kind of hypocritical perversion of the spirit of the law which Judge Welsh of the Philadelphia District Court condemned in the Sam Darcy case the other day.

But the crusade against civil liberties cuts a wide swath. Murphy had a good word for the anti-labor law enacted by Minnesota's reactionary Republican administration restricting the right to strike. In a letter to William Green, Murphy backed up the recent statement of Assistant Attorney General Arnold and bluntly told the AFL president that the Justice Department intended to apply the anti-trust laws to labor organizations and their members. No wonder the tory press applauds. The New Deal is stealing Wall Street's thunder and giving the *coup de grace* to its own program.

More Rats

JAY LOVESTONE has finally come out into the open. His testimony before the Dies committee is for all practical purposes a confession that he is nothing but a government informer. Skeptics who found it difficult to believe that men like Bukharin and Rykov could stoop to becoming agents of foreign fascism now have the visible evidence of their American colleague, Lovestone, acting as an agent of American fascism.

In his testimony Lovestone repeated the choice canards of other Dies committee stool-pigeons: the American League for Peace and Democracy and the American Youth Congress are Communist-controlled, this and that individual is a GPU agent, etc. On a par with this was the behavior of a so-called liberal, Dr. Henry R. Linville, and a so-called Socialist, Dr. George W. Hartmann of Teachers College, Columbia University, who in 1938 was the Socialist Party's candidate for lieutenant governor. Both gentlemen rejoiced the Dies committee with their not too intellectual Red-baiting, directed chiefly at the American Federation of Teachers and the American Student Union.

Of course there was the usual crop of former Communist Party members turned rat. One of them, Michael W. Howsowick of Michigan, told the committee that he had been publicity director of the De Soto local of the United Automobile Workers. Richard T. Leonard, regional director of the UAW, promptly informed the committee that Howsowick had never had the slightest connection with the local, not even as a member.

The only relief in the Dies inquisition was the straightforward testimony of officials of the American Youth Congress and American Student Union. William Hinckley, former chairman of the Youth Congress, read into the record a resolution adopted by the national assembly of the congress, urging immediate discontinuance of the Dies committee and public and congressional support of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee. The Diesmen were on their best behavior because of the presence during this part of the hearings of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. Yet the First Lady could not help commenting in her "My Day" column on the hostile prosecuting attorney manner of J. B. Matthews, the committee's "research director." Mrs. Roosevelt, however, hardly did a service to liberalism when she gave the other members of this un-American committee a clean bill of health.

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Reaction Goes to College

ACUTE symptoms of the drive against free speech are appearing in the numerous bans on progressive speakers in the colleges. Despite invitations from student groups, trustee-dominated authorities have denied Earl Browder a hearing at Harvard, Princeton, Dartmouth, Brooklyn College, and the City College of New York. Only Yale has had the respect for constitutional rights to permit Browder to speak. The meeting was a notable success, and the Marx-crazed student body failed to burn down the buildings and socialize the trustees' bank accounts. But George U. Harvey says it can't happen in Manhattan or Brooklyn or Queens, and he has a notable array of Red-baiters behind him, including several hastily organized student vigilante societies.

These recent examples of the cowardice of capitalism, that great and deep-rooted scheme of life which is threatened by the plain speech of a Communist, are the barometer of the war drive in this country. If they can silence those who realistically fight for peace, it will be simple to trample unrealistic pacifism. The age of bourgeois enlightenment, of intellectual curiosity, is over. Now the ruling class must kill ideas and lead youth into the blackout. But the young will fight them, helped by true democrats.

Victory in Detroit

BEFORE commenting on the Chrysler agreement involving 57,000 workingmen after fifty days of lockout, we wish to refer to the December 2 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*. It headlined the following pertinent facts about Chrysler income:

1938, first nine months: $6,671,878.

1939, first nine months: $31,403,118.

Despite the enormous increase in profits, the corporation saw fit to lock 57,000 men out for nearly two months in the attempt to destroy the CIO's UAW. That failed and all labor is the winner—for defeat would have been the green light for an immediate, furious onslaught against all the rest of unionism. As it is, the auto unionists have won their greatest victory to date. Rank and file unity prevailed, and all the efforts of the management to divide and defeat were balked. The workers received, among other concessions, wage increases of approximately $98 per year; workers in the lowest bracket getting the highest increase, some as much as 13 cents an hour. The contract, moreover, cedes sole collective bargaining rights to the UAW-CIO in eleven plants of Chrysler. All men who were fired under the charge of slowdown were reinstated. A highly important paragraph in the agreement declares that the management "will not cause or sanction a lockout" until all negotiations with the union are exhausted.

Victory, it cannot be emphasized too strongly, came because the workingmen stuck together. In the National Labor Relations Board elections in the Chrysler plants, 40,081 voted for the CIO, 4,321 for the AFL. In the Dodge plant, center of the battle, the vote was 17,654 for the CIO, and a mere 837 for the AFL. Thus were Homer Martin, Father Coughlin, the combined front of the Detroit commercial press beaten. It provides a great lesson for labor, one that workingmen should emblazon from coast to coast in all their publications. While they're doing that, they should not fail to scan the *Wall Street Journal* and New York *Times* for further information concerning dividends. All labor will be interested to know that profits of manufacturing transportation companies are up 448 percent this past year—five and a half times greater than the same period for 1938 (New York *Times,* December 3). Labor, finding it hard to meet the grocers' bills skyrocketing in the general rise of living costs, should talk about that seriously in their union meetings.

To the Bastille!

ON THE last day of November, while Edouard Daladier was cozening an emasculated Chamber of Deputies into giving him complete dictatorial powers over France for the duration of the war, a mild-mannered deputy strolled into the Chamber and took his seat. Instantly there was a complete breakdown of parliamentary order. Shrieks, tohubohu, and brouhaha rent the august Chamber of Deputies, when the elected representative behind a drooping, grayish mustache was recognized as Florimond Bonte, former head of the French Workers and Peasants Party. A Communist alive in the Chamber of Deputies! A Red in the presence of the great motto "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite!"

No "little man who wasn't there" could give a dipsomaniac the screaming-meemies as badly as Florimond Bonte, deputy, gave the cohorts of Blum and Bonnet. Herriot, the bellwether for reaction, lost his philosophical calm and shouted, "Your appearance here, monsieur, is a scandal!"

Bonte was recognized as a living human being and not a ghost, then violently ejected, later arrested. He is now in jail, for he represents the real enemy of French imperialism. Hitler? Nazism? The Siegfried Line? Newsboys from Marseilles to Keokuk proclaim "the phony war." But Bonte called for peace and a stand against Daladier's imperialism. His brave and necessary gesture exposed the fraud of the Chamber of Deputies that voted its rights away. He will receive a hero's punishment in a land where now the craven rule.

Ho-Hum—Stolberg Again

BENJAMIN STOLBERG, the hit-and-run writer, has made another of his assaults on American progressivism. Having slugged the CIO for Scripps-Howard, this ex-liberal and pal of the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites has now made the grade in the tory Republican *Herald Tribune*. He has written a series of six heavily padded articles purporting to be an expose of the American Communist Party (this is Expose No. 2,373,411). In reality it is journalistic assault and battery, all strictly below the belt; truth is the chief casualty and practically every progressive organization in the country is branded a "Communist innocent front." Stolberg's major premise is that American Communism has collapsed (Collapse No. 2,168,942), to prove which he devotes six lengthy articles and much fine patriotic frenzy to belaboring an alleged corpse.

The Stolberg series is in the image of the Dies committee. His "revelations" have been lifted from Dies, "General Krivitsky," and similar authentic sources. Since the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, he states, the membership of the Communist Party has declined from sixty thousand to 35,000—no proof offered or asked for (both figures, as well as the "decline," are fabrications). Such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, the Washington Commonwealth Federation, the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the American Youth Congress, the National Lawyers Guild, the American Artists Congress, the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, and the American Committee for Intellectual Freedom and Democracy headed by Prof. Franz Boas are Communist "innocent fronts," as is Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. "In California the Stalinists have practically captured the state administration." Both the *Daily Worker* and NEW MASSES are receiving Moscow gold (no diamonds in this shipment); proof of this is the fact that NEW MASSES, "which is forever appealing to its readers for money, is now paying for half-page ads in metropolitan newspapers." (There was one such ad, announcing the Spivak series, in one newspaper, the New York *Times.)*

After lying himself blue in the face, Stolberg gets down to brass tacks in the last article with a call for the suppression of the Communist Party as a foreign espionage and sabotage organization—the biggest lie of all. And he has the gall to add: "Decent people must insist that there be no witch hunts of Communists." No, what this fingerman for reaction wants is a witch hunt broad enough to include every one of the organizations and individuals whom he labels "Communist."

Love from Fritzie

FRITZ KUHN seems to have been convicted for being a poor speller of rash mash notes, of passion rather than fascism. At the moment Walter Winchell was glaring across the courtroom at Fritz, practically dasting him to summon the Nazi bombers over the office of the New York *Mirror,* the country was overrun with fascists, domestic brand, whose own careers will not be hurt in the least by the type of evidence used in this case. Kuhn's trial might have been a legal precedent for jailing fascists on the ground of fascism, but it was turned into the juiciest tabloid story since Daddy Browning. We yield to no man, and we mean you, Walter, in our hatred of what Fritz Kuhn stands for, but no one as

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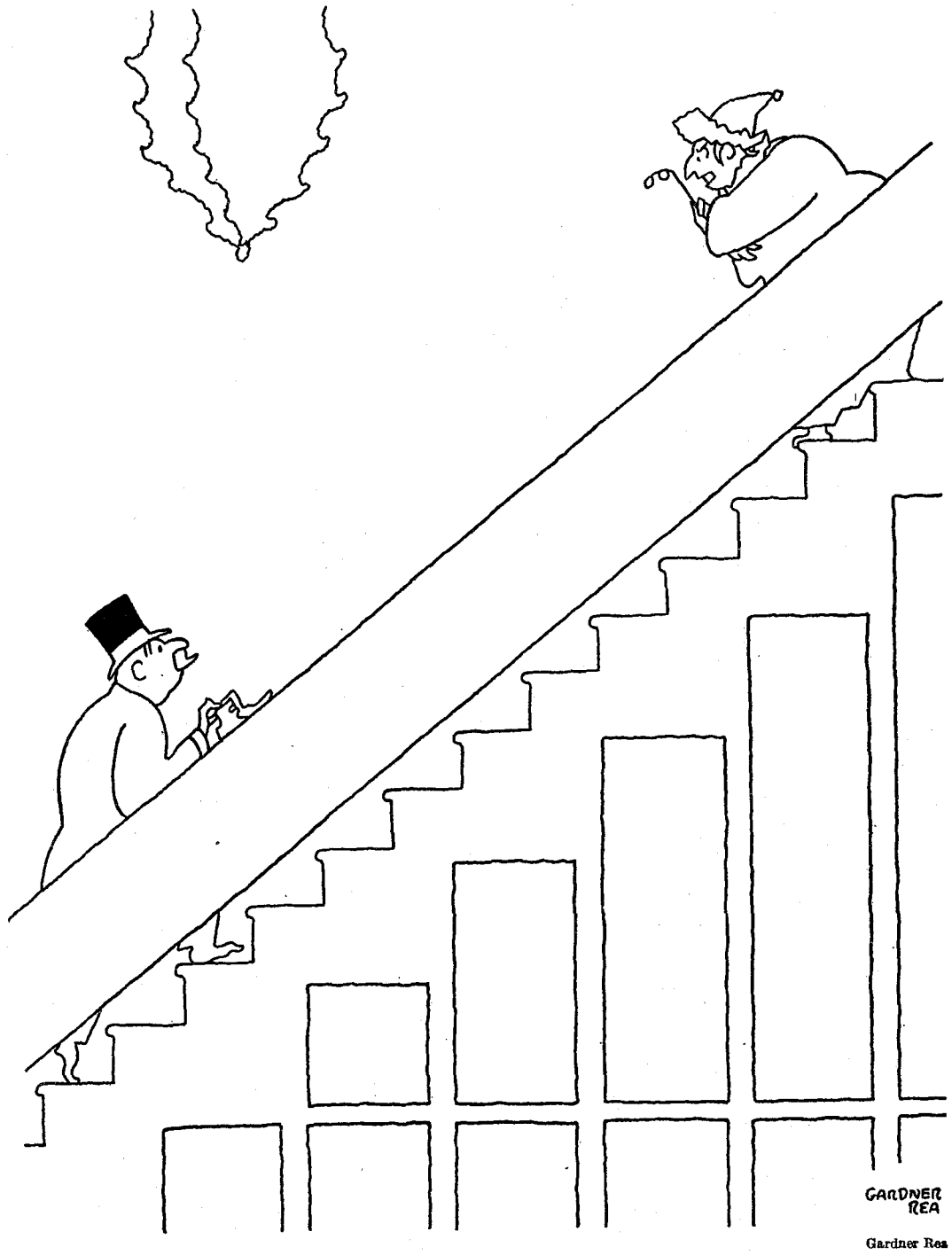
stupid-vicious as Kuhn was ever killed by sarcasm. Now the leader of the German-American Bund has received a sentence of two and a half to five years. Let's be sure, despite the courts' failure to tackle his cronies like Coughlin, that Kuhn's ilk aren't running the country when he gets out.

Come to the Trial

NEW MASSES is sponsoring a public trial of Father Charles E. Coughlin at the Manhattan Center, on Thursday, December 14, in New York City. John L. Spivak, author of the expose running currently in NEW MASSES, will act as prosecutor. Mr. Spivak's indictment, illustrated with documents, will charge specific violation of at least three federal statutes. NEW MASSES is sponsoring this public trial of America's No. 1 anti-Semite because twenty-five thousand capitalist papers throughout the country have suppressed the revelations contained in the Spivak articles. Therefore, NEW MASSES brings the issue directly to the people. We urge you to reserve the date, Thursday, December 14. Mr. Spivak will present an intimate behind-the-scenes account of how he tracked down the evidence that may ultimately lead to the eradication of Coughlinism as a menace to American life and liberty once and for all.

Roundup

EVERY American mother, father, and son will be pleased to learn that the newly developed automatic gun, the Garand rifle, is now replacing the old 1903 Springfields in the American Army. The old gun fired twenty shots per minute, and was hand-operated. The new gun is gas-compression-powered and fires thirty-two shots per minute. . . . The Swedish government announced this week that its Nobel Peace Prize will not be awarded this year. . . . England will begin rationing its population after the holidays. After January 8, each individual will be rationed to four ounces of butter and bacon per week. The price of milk will rise a penny a quart. Sir John Simon told the House of Commons that even "greater sacrifices must be expected." . . . More than four thousand citizens thronged the opening of the Metropolitan Opera in New York. Some pillars of society declined to renew their seats this year, so four hundred ordinary citizens were crowded in the orchestra and family circle. . . . The Canadian government took measures this week to suppress the Canadian Communist Party. Its newspaper, the *Clarion*, was raided several days ago. . . . Lazaro Pena, secretary of the Cuban Confederation of Labor, told the Second Inter-American Labor Conference last week that "reactionary forces were in the ascendancy in American politics" and cited Washington's sugar policies as an example. Confirmation of Pena's protest came soon after when federal farm officials announced that all curbs were being lifted on domestic sugar production. Since 70 percent of the American market is supplied by Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines, the latest government move will cripple the economies of these countries. . . . Philip Scheidemann, the German Social Democrat, who was the first chancellor of the Weimar republic, died this week at the age of seventy-four. He was responsible for smashing the German workers' revolution in 1918-19. His lieutenant, Gustav Noske, connived in the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg on Jan. 15, 1919. . . . Italian and British plans for an anti-Soviet Balkan bloc received a setback this week when Grigore Gafencu, Rumanian foreign minister, rejected Hungarian demands for a revision of the Trianon Treaty that would return Transylvania to the Hungarians. Count Czaky, speaking for Budapest, replied that Rumania must not hope to defend the Paris treaties "which are in a state of dissolution." . . . Labor won a victory when the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia by a unanimous opinion set aside a triple damage verdict of $711,932 against Branch 1 of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers (CIO) in the famous Apex hosiery case. . . . "Western" civilization took several great strides forward last week when thirteen-year-old John Clough, of Wales, England, developed a new aerial bomb which the British Defense Ministry is giving serious consideration. "This is the first time I have thought about bombs," John said. "Previously, I had been more interested in building model railway engines." His school bursar, Mr. Knowles, told the press: "We believe he will prove to be a mechanical genius."



Gardner Rea

MAJOR NERTZ OF THE FASCIST SHIRTS

"Out burying the Communist Party again, I presume."

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The Beards Lose the Thread of History

A. B. Magil reviews "America in Midpassage" and "Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels" wherein Charles and Mary Beard consider the contemporary scene.

AMERICA IN MIDPASSAGE, *by Charles A. and Mary R. Beard. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.*

GIDDY MINDS AND FOREIGN QUARRELS, *by Charles A. Beard. The Macmillan Company. 50 cents.*

SOME months ago I heard Dr. Beard give a talk entitled "The Lamp of Learning" before a group of school teachers. The title sounds banal, but the talk wasn't. In fact, it was Beard at his best, Beard the scholar and poet, the breaker through the wasteland of dead traditions into larger frontiers of knowledge and perception, Beard the fervent advocate of what he and Mary R. Beard call in *America in Midpassage* "humanistic democracy." Curiously enough, the name which Dr. Beard mentioned most frequently in the course of his brief talk was that of Karl Marx. And all the references were favorable.

I say "curiously enough" because Dr. Beard is not a Marxist and is, in fact, hostile to Marxism and to the Marxist movement of today, embodied in the Communist Parties of all countries and in the Soviet Union. His admiration for the dead Marx and his contempt for Marx's living disciples illustrates a fundamental weakness of Dr. Beard as a historian and champion of "humanistic democracy": his inability to apply his vast knowledge and insight into the past in order to illuminate the problems of the contemporary world. Dr. Beard is undoubtedly our foremost living historian and his contribution to the science of history is very great. But his superlative virtues only bring out in sharper contrast the limitations of his method, which is the bourgeois historical method at its best. It is characteristic of this method that it is able to explain the processes of social development only for that period when the bourgeoisie functioned as a progressive class. Beyond that point it flounders from one blind alley to another.

I think it is no accident that Beard's best work is that which deals with the early years of our republic. I have in mind particularly *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* and *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*. These books are landmarks of American historical writing. They deal with the period when the revolutionary nascent bourgeoisie of this country was most completely the instrument of social progress not only here but internationally. Beard's own historical method, his emphasis on the economic factor in the shaping of history, stems not from the dialectical materialism of Marx, but from the mechanical materialism or "economic determinism" of Madison and Hamilton, Jefferson and John Taylor, which, in turn, derives from the British and French materialists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the revolutionary youth of American capitalism, before the organized proletariat had arisen to challenge its domination, its political representatives laid bare with what today seems startling candor the economic motivation of actions which were later haloed in the golden verbiage of pious historians and Fourth of July orators. What Beard did in his two great books was to scrape off the pretty pastel and restore the original picture. He showed by the most painstaking documentation that the struggles around the adoption of the Constitution and between Federalists and Anti-Federalists (Republicans) during the first years of the republic were essentially struggles between two contending classes, the capitalist and the agrarian. Yet even at his best Beard exhibited the typical weaknesses of a mechanistic rather than dialectic approach to history. The class struggle between capitalists and agrarians is conceived statically, without relation to the historical process as a whole. Beard's anatomy omits the flesh—the realization that the selfish class interests of the Founding Fathers also expressed, despite the limited democracy of that day, the larger historical interests of the nation as a whole. These interests required the most rapid development of capitalist production and the unification of the separate states into a single political entity.

INVOCATION TO "LIFE FORCE"

In the latter part of *The Rise of American Civilization,* written in collaboration with Mary R. Beard and first published in 1927, Dr. Beard demonstrated that when he approaches our own time he begins to lose his way. The victory of the North in the Civil War marked the triumph of the capitalist mode of production, followed shortly by the stormy emergence of the industrial proletariat, which took over from the capitalists their former role as the most progressive class in society. It is Beard's failure to understand this new relation of forces that blurs his vision. That economic motivation which he sees so clearly in the early history of the country and for the most part throughout the whole period of pre-monopoly capitalism begins to be obscured for him in the complexities of the modern imperialist epoch. His treatment of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, of the World War, and of the Harding and Coolidge administrations shows a disposition to substitute mere recording for interpretation of events. And where he interprets he too often goes wrong. The last pages of *The Rise of American Civilization* are symptomatic. After painting the gaudy Babylon of the twenties, the Beards run away from it all and conclude with a mystical invocation to "a life force or divine power" and the final oracular words: "If so, it is the dawn, not the dusk, of the gods." Two years later came the nightmare of collapse.

THE THIRD VOLUME

America in Midpassage is the third volume of *The Rise of American Civilization*. It covers the last decade and a half and is the weakest of the three volumes. As a catalogue of events and personalities this huge book has its uses. As insight and evaluation it rarely rises above the mediocre. Only the style, large and mellow and pungent (the Beard style seems to improve with age), is first rate. There is in the book little comprehension of the turbulent social forces shaping the history of the present and the future. At best the Beards can point to the follies and incompetence of the plutocracy, but for all their striving after "humanistic democracy," they are unable to tell how to change an ugly world they cannot explain. Their treatment of the economic crisis is typical. They present the phenomena of the crisis and embroider their tale with ironic commentary. But the causes of this greatest economic cataclysm are a closed book for them. As remedies they offer the conflicting theories of various public figures without attempt at critical evaluation except for a distinct leaning toward "economic planning" of the Swope-Chamber of Commerce type. The Marxist analysis is ignored. In general, though there is an entire chapter devoted to labor and occasional nods in the same direction elsewhere, labor is assigned a subordinate role in the events of the past fifteen years and in the future of democracy. Thus in their discussion of the crisis there is no mention of the great unemployed struggles organized by the Unemployed Councils (which later fused with the Workers Alliance) and the Communists. The bonus march of 1932 is mentioned in a single sentence, and the twenty thousand men who participated become "a number of veterans." On the whole, the more class-conscious expressions of labor activity are either ignored, played down, or presented out of focus. The leftwing Trade Union Unity League, for example, which played so germinal a part in the evolution of the militant sentiment which later took shape in the CIO, receives no mention at all. References to the Communist

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Party are uniformly on the Red-baiting level.

Another serious shortcoming of *America in Midpassage* is its complete ignoring of the special role of the Negro people in the history of our country for the past fifteen years. In the 949 pages of the book there are no more than six or seven references of any kind to Negroes, and these are always casual and always merely as phases of other problems. In this the Beards, of course, follow the tradition of other bourgeois historians, liberal and reactionary, who contemptuously reject the idea that the Negroes in the United States constitute a separate national entity. More surprising is the failure even to mention the Scottsboro or Herndon cases which achieved international renown.

The Beards devote no less than three chapters to cultural questions. These cover the theater, the movies, the radio, literature, the press, the graphic and plastic arts, music, and the dance. There is also a chapter on science and one on socio-economic and political literature. In addition to not being Marxists, the Beards suffer from the shortcoming that they are not God—they do not have the encyclopedic omniscience which they profess in these chapters. Their judgments are too frequently shallow, capricious, and in many cases based obviously on second- and third-hand information. There is a bewildering catalogue of names and titles, gold stars are bestowed or denied to this writer or painter or musician who happens to please or displease the Beards—or some critic whose judgment the Beards appropriate as their own—but there are no criteria of values, either social or esthetic, no sense of historic progression, and the cumulative effect is chaos. Their attitude toward leftward trends is both respectful and suspicious, with the bogy of "foreign flavor" always in the offing. Class prejudice and failure to consult original sources lead them at times into factual distortions, as, for example, their statement that at the 1937 Writers Congress "Marxists wrangled over the correct line" and "Marxists made speeches characterized by the fixed idea that literature in America as in Russia must exhibit correctness of doctrine and soundness of verbalism. . . ." The fact is that nothing of the kind occurred and Earl Browder, who was one of the speakers at the opening of the congress, specifically disclaimed any such doctrinaire approach to literature.

In their attitude toward the New Deal the Beards demonstrate most revealingly the fumbling quality of their thinking on contemporary questions. Class lines, which are so clear to Dr. Beard when he discusses the political battles of Washington's, Adams', and Jefferson's administrations, practically disappear when he turns to the period of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Yet classes are today more fully defined and the struggle between them sharper. There is no understanding that the New Deal has itself been the battleground of this class conflict, with the forces of progress and reaction contending for mastery of its policies. As a result, the Beards frequently praise and criticize the wrong things. They support the Chamber of Commerce-sponsored NRA which was, on the whole, reactionary, and attack the Roosevelt foreign policy, which, until the outbreak of the second imperialist war, was, on the whole, progressive.

American foreign policy has, of course, been Dr. Beard's chief concern in recent years. He is an isolationist, though he dislikes the term and in this book prefers to call his school of thought "the American civilization school." This is flattering and mouth-filling even if a bit on the vague side. He has given a further exposition of his ideas in his recent broadside, *Giddy Minds and Foreign Quarrels,* a gusty, two-fisted statement of his case. The trouble is that Dr. Beard's thinking on foreign policy is vestigial, a throwback to frontier attitudes in the period before the export of capital and goods made America a world power. The liberal isolationism that Dr. Beard represents got a new lease on life after the World War. It expressed on the part of large sections of the population a healthy disgust with the consequences of that war and a determination never again to be dragged into a similar mess. This isolationism, however, saw the cause of modern war not in capitalism, but in political flirtations with foreign countries. Dr. Beard's own xenophobia has been carried to such an extreme that in a recent article in the *American Mercury* he made observations on the foreign-born that smacked of Know-Nothingism. The basic outlook of the isolationists has been essentially utopian, seeking a return to the policies of the unreturnable era of pre-monopoly capitalism. In immediate situations they have at times played a progressive, at times a reactionary role, depending on the course of events. The outbreak of the second imperialist war has made the isolationist doctrine, which was formerly supported by substantial sections of big business reaction, a useful, though inadequate, instrument in opposing all steps leading to America's involvement in the European conflict. Thus it is not Beard who gives meaning to events, but events that give meaning to him.

But the people need light—without it they perish. The Beards' invocation to "humanistic democracy" in the last pages of *America in Midpassage* is in its way as mystical and rootless as the invocation to "a life force or divine power" that concluded the second volume of *The Rise of American Civilization* (it has been eliminated from later editions). Their liberalism, however admirable in spirit and intent, is necessarily tenuous, for they have lost that thread which binds all history together and gives it future meaning. To find that thread in the social woof of our time and of American history from the beginning, to uncover the dynamic material forces that have made and are unmaking the capitalist epoch and bringing nearer the socialist fulfillment of the promise of American democracy: this is the task of revolutionary Marxism.

A. B. MAGIL.

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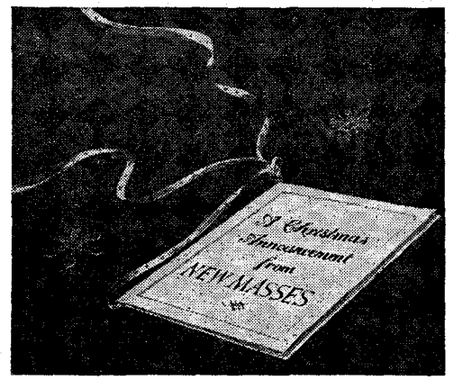

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"Human Nature"

THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS SOCIETY: THE PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PRIMITIVE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, *by Abram Kardiner, M.D. Columbia University Press. $3.50.*

THIS very useful book is a part of the growing revolt by progressive psychoanalysts against the unhistorical Freudian conception of human nature. Starting with the social life of actual people instead of with mythical instincts, Dr. Kardiner shows in detail that different societies must and do generate basically different types of "human nature." Particularly stimulating is his analysis of the deep and intimate psychological changes consequent upon a change in the mode of production of the Betsileos of Madagascar. Old line psychoanalysts will be greatly disturbed to learn that a simple change from dry rice to wet rice cultivation resulted in intensified personal anxiety and hostility, increased homosexuality, robbery and murder, and finally a marked alteration of the "super-ego" or social conscience. The evidence abundantly confirms Marx's comment that "the whole of history is nothing but the progressive transformation of human nature."

The anonymous ghost of Marx does indeed flit through these pages; but unfortunately only the ghost. Dr. Kardiner is able to avoid many of the usual psychoanalytical errors. He shuns the tendency to read into the minds of primitives what has been taken out of the minds of modern neurotics. He is opposed to any effort to "explain" primitive social organization by a reference to present-day nervous disorders. But his efforts are crippled by a lack of that clear understanding of society and social change which Marxism alone could give him. He cannot get it from bourgeois cultural anthropology.

Marxism would enable him to grasp the inter-connectedness of social institutions. Lacking this guide, Dr. Kardiner complains that "the array of institutions which seemingly have little connection with one another is somewhat bewildering," and he attempts to supply a "psychological focus." Throughout the book, there is a tendency to detach institutions from the total system in which they occur, a procedure which evokes some well earned but unrepentant self-criticism.

The failure to understand how society changes, how people change society, makes it impossible for Dr. Kardiner really to free himself from that inevitable treadmill on which psychoanalysts torment themselves. Institutions create personalities, but after all, personalities create institutions, and so on, around and around. Dr. Kardiner makes a vigorous effort to break the circle by presenting a distinction between "primary institutions" which mold the personality, and "secondary institutions" created to satisfy this personality. The distinction, however, is artificial and erroneous. It disguises but does not overcome the difficulty.

Despite serious weaknesses, the book represents the best that has been done by psychoanalysts thus far. It is more comprehensive and somewhat more profound than its predecessors, and there is a gratifying emphasis upon the healthy if not the rational aspects of human life which have been so neglected by Freudians. Not only its factual material but also its critical review of Freud's social psychology and his "libido theory" make it one of the most helpful studies of its kind.

FRANCIS BARTLETT.

The Big Money

THE ENDING OF AMERICAN HEREDITARY FORTUNES, *by Gustavus Myers. Julian Messner, Inc. $3.50.*

GUSTAVUS MYERS, to whom we will forever be indebted for his pioneer and thoroughgoing history of our plutocracy, has here assailed the feudal wrapper of property—hereditary wealth. The book begins with a thrilling account of the assault of republican America on primogeniture, entail, distinctions of dress, franchise, and educational limitations based on fortune, etc., up to the Jacksonian triumph. The counterpoint of the rise of capitalism makes up the sour symphony of the nineteenth century. From that point on Myers retells in a score of digressions the wellworn tale of the sybaritic habits of the rich and their wanton immorality. That strange weaving of central plot and recollected pattern that marred his masterpiece, *History of the Great American Fortunes,* is repeated in this book, but even more clumsily and with less reason.

Myers then takes up an optimistic note. The U. S. Senate, elected indirectly and a closed club for plutocrats, has been opened to the people by a constitutional amendment. That bulwark gone, the income tax amendment becomes implemented and the rich pay. Estate taxes and surtaxes become enormous and mark a real limitation of the power of the rich. While the rich evade by a thousand devices, yet the net result is not greatly altered. Foundations are not wholly tax-dodging devices, since the Rockefeller and Carnegie endowments antedate the era of high taxes. The community must move logically to the abolition of the hereditary transmission of wealth, as long ago it prohibited feudal heritage and the transmission of titles and honors from father to son. Wealth must be gained afresh in each generation.

Myers sees everything in history except its class content, though he is a close student of class privileges and maneuvers. The abolition of feudal privilege was not done for democratic reasons but to clear the road for unlimited trade, freedom of investment, etc. To defeat the feudal elements it was necessary to call upon workers for support and so a democratic cant was utilized. The workers obtained education by their pressure, but that education was also a necessity to cope with the complexities of capitalist production and distribution. The high rate of taxation, both on incomes and inheritances, does not arise so as to limit fortunes. Great Britain for a century paid high income taxes and death duties while America paid none. That was not a democratic

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device but the obverse picture of an exploitation so ferocious that the rich left the poor too little with which to pay extended taxes. In the United States increased income taxes, surtaxes, and estate duties have been imposed coincidentally with the greatly increased concentration of wealth. Where accumulation centers resources in fewer hands and the middle class is weakened in savings and the poor reduced to relief and make-work expedients, necessarily the expenses of the state, the organ of the capitalists for maintaining this exploitation, can only come out of what is there. The state charges high for "protection."

This analytical weakness accounts for a host of errors in Myers' sincere and learned book. He cites the end of entail in Germany recently without understanding that it was imposed to keep what Marx so happily called the Kraut-Junkers from losing their property to mortgagees. In England the liberalizing of the feudal land laws under that strange radical, Lord Birkenhead, was a necessity for the investment of the building and loan combines and companies like the Prudential Assurance. And foundations are related not so much to taxation as to control. When a tax of $25,000,000 is to be levied upon a millionaire, why not a bequest of $20,000,000 if it will cut that taxation down to, say, $15,000,000 less? The net benefaction is small, the kudos great and, what is more precious, the "trust agreement" permits the same old control of property. The educational institution so endowed produces conservative professors to vaunt the system, and all this at the commuted cost of the national treasury. It makes little difference to a multi-millionaire, who could not conceivably consume his income whether he credits it to a philanthropy or a ballet girl, provided its class content (retained control over the working class) remains intact.

As to the notion that hereditary wealth can be abolished under capitalism, this is of the same order as the Single Tax illusion. It would be admirable if both the private appropriation of rent and hereditary transmission of property were prohibited. But it remains true that a class-weakening sufficient to permit either would have, as a corollary, changes so much more drastic that the former desiderata would be absorbed in the greater.

WILLIAM BLAKE.

Transatlantic Bard

SHAKESPEARE IN AMERICA, *by Esther Cloudman Dunn. The Macmillan Co. $3.50.*

IT IS Miss Dunn's thesis that Shakespeare yields "to the manipulation, the 'form and pressure' of each succeeding era, and in the process, turns himself into the most delicate barometer of social and cultural history." The thesis is valid, and it is supported by a wealth of interesting detail drawn from the history of the American theater. The colonial theater, aping eighteenth century London fashions in Shakespearean production, adapted the dramatist to the taste of the gentle ladies who sent their servants at four o'clock to reserve their boxes. The frontier players, "Strollers" on keel-boat and wagon, adapted Shakespeare to more earthy and energetic tastes, frequently combining him with the sure-fire attractions of the circus.

The uses of Shakespeare reflect the changing moods and interests of different eras. At one time, he is used as a symbol of a cultural bond to the "homeland"; during the Revolution, he is used as an arsenal for political and social parody. Miss Dunn follows the adventures of Shakespeare in the California Gold Rush as well as in the pages of McGuffey's Readers. The result is a pleasant lesson in the effect of class and geographical biases on the conception of literature. The author does not pretend to have written a definitive study; the material is highly telescoped; the manner is often self-consciously "popular." Yet this book, free of bardolatry, gives a refreshing insight into the devious uses to which a great poet may be put by historical compulsions.

N. R.

Labor's Bargaining Rights

WHAT IS COLLECTIVE BARGAINING? *by Mollie Ray Carroll. Longmans Green & Co. $1.75.*

AS AN analysis of collective bargaining today, Mollie Ray Carroll's new study should be useful in college courses on labor problems. The right of trade unions to recognition being established by law, she says, educational institutions should do their part in training experts to deal with labor relations and other matters affecting labor.

One of the best sections in the book is on the unions' need of exact information and the service to be rendered in helping them to get these facts. Organized workers entering into negotiations with employers "want to know the facts about costs, profits, competitors, and marketing conditions. . . . Organized labor also asks for information on the policies of labor-law-enforcing agencies." Too often trade unions have been unable to get from government agencies the facts they need for negotiating with a corporation or employers' association.

It is certainly time that colleges and schools took more seriously the need for adequate courses on labor problems. As Miss Carroll points out, professional standards should be defined in the whole field of service to labor, whether through government agencies or through direct research for trade unions. She concludes:

> We need in our educational institutions to define more clearly the requirements of professional service to labor in such things as labor relations, social insurance, wage and hour determinations and policies, industrial health and safety, fact finding, or information service. We need to determine and to develop theoretical courses and practical work designed to equip people to perform these expert services.

GRACE HUTCHINS.

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Old Lady from Dubuque

ABOUT PEOPLE, *by William Steig. Random House. $2.50.*

THE LAST FLOWER, *by James Thurber. Harper & Bros. $2.*

THE 1940 NEW YORKER YEARBOOK. *Random House. $2.50.*

THE sway of the *New Yorker* in journalistic humor has by this time overcome even *Punch*. Manners in humor die last of all fads, and these three books of *New Yorker* cartoons and cartoonists presage the last phase of the bourgeois comedy of taste which the *New Yorker* has represented more ably than any sheet since the *Yellow Book*. Steig has gone surrealist; Thurber, maudlin; and the *Yearbook* includes six gags about midgets.

This is a new world and the *New Yorker* has turned into the Old Lady from Dubuque. Troubled references to the war begin the "Talk of the Town" often these days, and the typographical error has ceased to cover the news of the world. An unfortunate Paris correspondent has been uneasily supplanted by a character who reveals that there ain't no Communists around because he hasn't seen any wearing badges on the terrace of the Dome. The magazine has a very high standard of reporting and general technical excellence but you can't keep up these days with nothing but beautiful grammar.

Steig's drawings are crabbed and gnome-like psycho-portraits; for a cartoonist who began under the influence of Daumier and found his own style with delightful character studies of little people, this is a false step indeed. I hope he gives Dali back to Bonwit Teller and takes another look at the side streets. They're still there.

Thurber's *The Last Flower* is a parable on war, which attributes this economic affliction to the evils pixies inside us. Thurber's line has been compared to Picasso, which illustrates how easy it is to be a critic. The drawings are highly readable but innocence tends to turn into mock innocence under prolonged encouragement. Thurber is an honest man who arrests his talent by such resigned plaints as *The Last Flower,* which will do nothing to help us to avoid war. He is faced with breaking with this dwindling gentility, whose style allows him to say nothing.

The New Yorker Yearbook mobilizes the best cartoons of the year from the magazine. It is interesting to note the heavy hand of formula stuff throughout most of the cartoons; this is almost exclusively humor of the incongruous situation, and not of character or human insight. As the bounds of propriety tighten up on the magazine, the artists hunch down into a kind of social hypochondria, which differs from the usual disease in that the sufferer thinks everyone else is touched. Syd Hoff continues his healthy exploration of Bronx folkways, and Peter Arno persists in frittering away his amazing graphic talent in views of cafe society imbeciles. Or maybe these are just Christmas picture books.

JAMES DUGAN.

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S I G H T S A N D S O U N D S

A Lively Theater Week

Alvah Bessie reviews Maxwell Anderson's play about a loyalist volunteer. Will Shakespeare swung, Ethel Barrymore in the veldt, and other odds and ends.

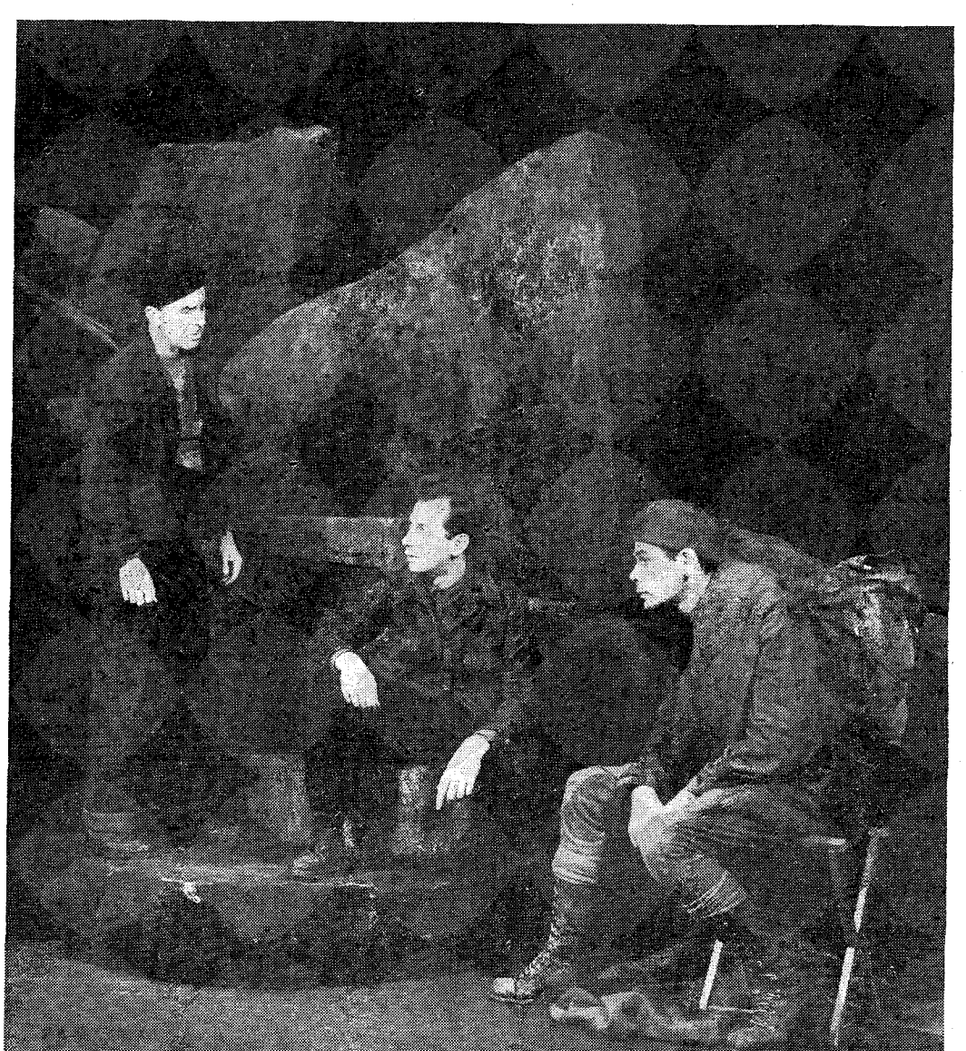
IN *Key Largo,* which restores Paul Muni to Broadway at the Ethel Barrymore Theater, Maxwell Anderson attacks one of his largest and most poignant themes; if he fails to vitalize it in terms of the theater, it is not for lack of a high moral purpose and considerable effort. In the character of King McCloud (played by Mr. Muni) the playwright premises an American volunteer in the International Brigades who becomes convinced that the cause is lost and that, whatever the outcome, democracy is dead in Spain; for if Franco wins, there will be fascism, and if the loyalists win, then "Stalin will win." This is no implied opinion of an individual character; it is Mr. Anderson's considered and forcefully stated conclusion, for the four other American volunteers in the prologue feel the same way and so state their conclusions. As such, this portion of the drama represents a detestable and muddle-headed libel on the cause for which so many brave men of so many nationalities died—and *not* in vain.

McCloud tries to persuade his patrol—holding an isolated hill—to desert. He is thoroughly disillusioned. At first consenting, something in the other four men makes them change their minds. They elect to remain and try to hold the hill against overwhelming odds, fighting a rearguard action to cover the retreating forces on their flanks. Muni's character deserts.

Not only does McCloud desert, but he fights the balance of the war on the fascist side, and he lives (where the others have all died) to return to America (still in his uniform and with his pistol) to find the relatives of these friends who died, and to tell them how it was with them. The faces of his friends continue to haunt him; he is driven and tortured by a feeling of guilt which he maintains is unreasonable, for "I was right." He *said* they would lose, and they lost; the body wants to live; it wants to live at all costs of personal integrity. But the torment remains and it grows when he meets his closest comrade's (Victor's) sister, who lives with her blind father on Key Largo in Florida. He had come to love her, never seeing her; she had come to love him, knowing he was the leader at the start. Now she faces his reality: a broken man who deems himself a coward while he protests that life at any price is still better than death in a lost cause.

Alegre (Victor's sister) and her father are victims of a local gangster and his mob who have fastened upon their poor home and operate a gambling game. The leader, Murillo, desires Alegre. In a preliminary set-to with the gangster, McCloud again decides to live, humbles himself before the superior strength of the evil power. But Alegre and her father continue to shelter him, as they have sheltered and abetted two Seminole Indians escaping from a chain-gang. It is not until the last scene of the play, when Murillo, with the venal sheriff's assistance, connives to railroad the two Seminole Indians for a murder he himself committed, that McCloud faces the issue, decides that it is better to die believing in something (the necessity to protect Alegre from rape, the innocent fugitives from death) than to live believing in nothing. In a gesture of sacrifice, he dies, exultant.

If (as I could not) you can overlook Mr. Anderson's considered slander upon loyalist Spain and the international volunteers who died there, you will still find his play static, undramatic, unrealized. Like Robert Ardrey, he has a counsel of hope for the world, in the expressed belief that a time will come when men will attain their true potentialities as human beings; unlike the younger author of *Thunder Rock,* he cannot so frequently clothe his ideas in theatrical substance. Long sections of his play are tedious preachments that halt the action interminably and bore the listener. Only at moments can the real vitality of Mr. Muni's performance give life to the character that the playwright has failed to write adequately. For it is just as impossible to write psychological drama by permitting characters to talk about the problem instead of talking about the problem *through* the characters, as it would be to write melodrama in the same way. Thus Mr. Anderson remains a dramatist of pretentious aspiration and very limited achievement. You will admire his attempt to write high tragedy, the playing of Mr. Muni



A LOYALIST PATROL *in the prologue of Maxwell Anderson's "Key Largo" — Charles Ellis, Jose Ferrer, and Paul Muni.*

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(at moments), and minor characterizations supplied by Jose Ferrer (Victor), Charles Ellis, Ralph Theodore (the sheriff), Harold Johnsrud (Victor's father), and Frederic Tozere (the gangster).

SWINGING THE SWAN

Shakespeare is in the groove at the Center Theater, where Erik Charell presents *Swingin' the Dream,* a musicalized version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* And if there is little enough Shakespeare, there is that much more groove.

You will not miss Old Will; in fact, you may wish there were less of him in evidence, for what little there is stands in the way of a cast of 150 black and white jitterbugs, vocalists, musicians, specialty dancers, charming personalities, and ingenious buffoons who keep the enormous stage alive (at most times) with color and movement. Only the book, by the said Shakespeare (with additional dialogue by Gilbert Seldes and Charell) is dull. And the way the book has been handled is the occasion for several minor tragedies: Louis Armstrong carries his trumpet, but rarely gets a chance to toot it; Benny Goodman never gets an opportunity to warm up properly; Maxine Sullivan is forced to sing a couple of sappy songs instead of doing her own stuff, which no one else can do.

But what there is on the credit side makes for a passably entertaining evening at prices that are fairly reasonable. Major occasions for delight: Oscar Polk, as accomplished a performer as you will ever see; Butterfly McQueen (as Puck) with her fantastic voice; Eleanor Lynn, who is as brilliant and charming as a musical comedy heroine as she was in Odets' *Rocket to the Moon;* Nicodemus, a Negro comic who acts rings around the cast without their knowing it; the Dandridge Sisters, luscious harmonizers, and an energetic cast of jitterbug dancers whose gyrations will send you home convinced that arterio-sclerosis is creeping in your bloodstream. Add to this, imaginative costuming, sets out of Walt Disney, the Goodman Sextette, Bud Freeman's gang and Don Voorhees in the pit, and you need not worry about the shortcomings of the author—he's been dead a long time anyhow.

ALVAH BESSIE.

"Pins and Needles"

The third edition of the ILGWU show—new and old sketches.

THE novelty is somewhat faded, and the producers have evidently felt the need to spice the show with a dash of Red-baiting; but despite this the "third edition" of *Pins and Needles* comes off with most of its old gayety and all of its original joy and informality. An ill placed band obstructs the view of the stage, the cast mugs it for all its collective worth, yet the fun gets under the skin of the people in the theater, and pretty soon there's a general chorus of humming as the

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audience picks up the familiar Harold Rome tunes.

Most of the favorite sketches are retained: "Sunday in the Park," the rudimentary but funny "Papa Lewis, Mama Green," "The Red Mikado." In addition there are some new ones you won't want to miss: "Bertha, the Sewing Machine Girl" (It's Better with a Union Man), was probably inspired by TAC's "Picket-Line Priscilla" and "The Curse of the Silk Chemise," but it has life and a method of its own, and its gay-nineties tableaux bring the house down. "Paradise Mislaid" (Odets in Ten Minutes) is obvious burlesque, but is extremely well paced and effective. Then there's "Cream of Mush" and, most hilarious of all, "The Harmony Boys" with the energetic and terrifically vital Al Eben as Coughlin, Berni Gould as Senator Reynolds, and Harry Clark as Fritz Kuhn.

Outstanding newcomer is Dorothy Harrison, who sings "Mene, Mene, Tekel" and "Stay Out, Sammy." R. H.

Melodrama

Ethel Barrymore does well by her part in "Farm of Three Echoes."

"Farm of Three Echoes" brings Ethel Barrymore to the Cort Theater in the part Dame Whitty created in the London version. While it isn't exactly the most significant play on Broadway, it's fun. It's an old-fashioned melodrama and a good one, too. Miss Barrymore romps delightfully through it as a ninety-seven-year-old grandmother. Maybe she pays enough attention to realism not actually to romp but that's the impression she leaves. She's roguish and sly and clever in spite of being tetched in the haid or whatever the South African hinterland equivalent of the ailment is. She babbles of the days of Oom Paul Kruger and her sons killed by the British. She conjures with the ghosts of her son (the only one the British didn't get) and her husband, who have been justifiably murdered by their long-suffering womenfolk. She recognizes each approach of Satan to the old farmhouse. She unmasks the loose companion of an airline representative who comes to buy the farm as the Whore of Babylon. And she manages in the end to lift the family curse and save her grandson from the fate of his male ancestors. When offstage, she's up in the attic resting in her silk-lined coffin.

The play is tightly written, fast, and intensely acted by an excellent cast. It makes good enough use of old melodramatic tricks to keep the audience squealing. Once when another character burst open a door through which one of Miss Barrymore's ghosts was just about to depart, there were shrieks.

A play by Justin Sturm called *I Know What I Like,* with John Beal in it, opened last week. It was about an art gallery and young love and a forged El Greco. It closed last week, too. Agnes Day.

Musical Vigor

The first concert of the TAC Music Division.

The Theater Arts Committee revealed another interesting phase of its activity in the first Concert Cabaret, arranged by the Music Division of TAC, and nicely balanced between serious and dramatic pieces and musical satires and folk material. The Austrian refugees in the *From Vienna* company began the evening with their amusing "Musical Day" sketch, followed by Morton Gould, playing three of his own pieces for the piano —"Sonatina," and two parodies Mr. Gould aptly calls "Caricatones." The "Sonatina" is deft, and the composer plays with superb feeling.

Henry Brant presented a premiere in his descriptive "Three Marx Brothers," for harp, viola, cello, flute, oboe, piano, and tin whistle. Mr. Brant's intonation on the tin whistle leaves something to be desired, but the idea is droll and original and the crowd appreciated the composer's insouciance.

The second premiere was of George Kleinsinger's "Whitman Cantata," sung by the New York Choral Society under the direction of Arthur Lief, with Arthur Atkins as baritone soloist, and the composer at the piano. Assembled fragments of Whitman's songs of democracy have found a thrilling presentation in this chorale; particularly in the recitative of Mr. Atkins against the aria of feminine voices, and the several beautiful solos—"I Hear America Singing" and "Come, I Will Make This Continent Indissoluble."

Alan Lomax, folksong collector, accompanying himself on the guitar, brought stormy applause for the democratic ballads of old America, so rousing to the audience that they joined in responses to a chain gang song.

The Clarence Profit Trio brought chamber jazz in Hoagy Carmichael's "Stardust," Duke Ellington's "Hot and Bothered," and Ray Noble's "Cherokee." One could not help suspecting that Mr. Profit's brilliant swing improvisations offered the most fully developed music on the program, since its tradition is decades older and more popular than the newer social and satiric music.

The American People's Chorus, directed by Earl Robinson, presented as a finale "The Ballad of Uncle Sam" by Mr. Robinson and John La Touche, the work that was a tremendous hit when Paul Robeson recently sang it in the *Pursuit of Happiness* radio show. This time the friendly baritone of Michael Loring and the impassioned singing of the chorus produced a memorable conclusion to the concert.

The Concert Cabaret has shown the diverse riches of modern American popular music; more than once the artists on the program got a response from the audience that was participation as well as appreciation. When composers and artists get that close to the audience American music is winging on its way. Barnaby Hotchkiss.

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GOINGS ON

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V. J. JEROME, editor, "The Communist," speaks on THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND THE WAR, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 2:30 P.M., Webster Manor, 125 E. 11th St. (bet. 3 and 4 Ave.). Admission 35 cents.

ALFRED GOLDSTEIN, popular political analyst, discusses the week's news, Sunday, December 10th, 8:30 P.M. Auspices Workers School, 35 East 12 Street, second floor. Admission 20 cents.

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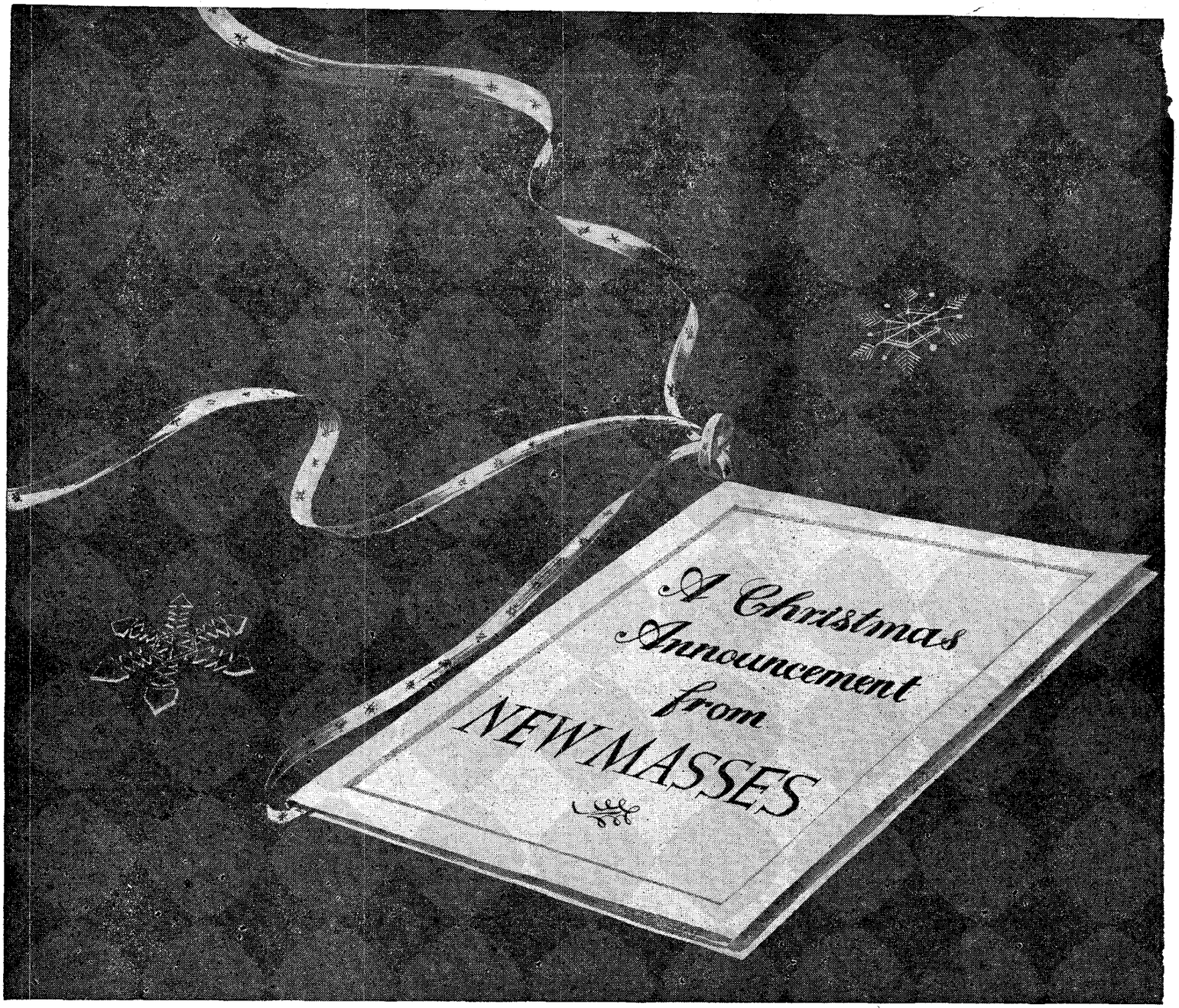

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